

AFTER THE BATTLE

SPECIAL EDITION

THE REICHS CHANCELLERY

**AND THE BERLIN BUNKER
THEN AND NOW**

Number 61

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Front Cover: The postcard is an original by Heinrich Hoffmann on Vitacolor, published by him from his company at 34 Friedrichstrasse in Munich, and was taken looking eastwards along the Voss-strasse of the great west door of the New Reichskanzlei completed in January 1939. The picture below, taken by Tom Posch in April 1988, shows the Führerbunker in the foreground with the Vorbunker behind shortly before its demolition by East Berlin contractors. The map is a section from GSGS 4480 published by the War Office in March 1945.

Centre Pages: The New Chancellery, completed in a building time of nine months, was one of the wonders of modern Germany. The first view shows the west door in the Mosaiksaal — the Hall of Mosaics — with the national eagle emblem now to be seen in the Imperial War Museum, London. The second picture is of the north front facing the garden with Hitler's office behind the pillars.

Back Cover: The shell-torn remains of the Chancellery were demolished after the war, more than two-thirds of Voss-strasse now lying within the two security walls built in East Berlin in 1961. This picture shows the area before the inner wall was moved further to the west to allow for redevelopment of the remaining third into a high-rise housing estate. The 'Lenne triangle' lies on the left. (Schöning & Schmidt, Lübeck)

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THE REICHS CHANCELLERY

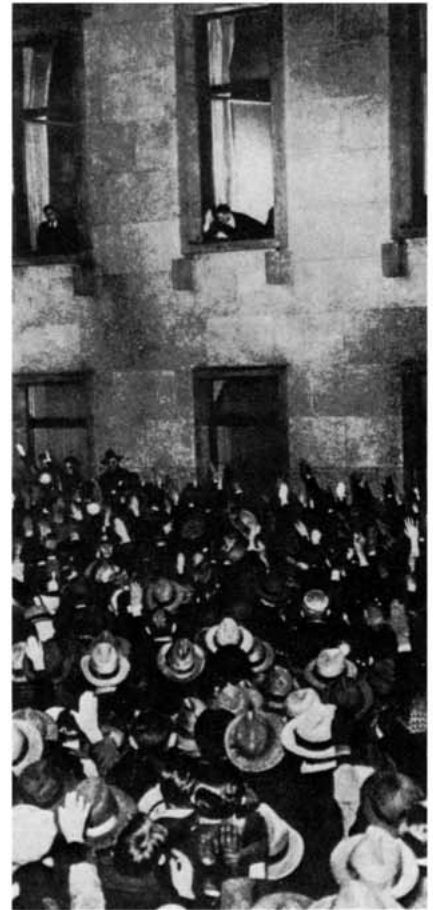
FIFTY YEARS AGO, in August 1938, the topping out ceremony was held marking the mid-way stage in the construction of Adolf Hitler's New Reichs Chancellery in Berlin. Built to last a thousand years, in less than seven it lay in ruins with Hitler's charred corpse buried in its garden.

In 1947 Soviet engineers attempted to demolish the bunker in which Hitler had taken his life, leaving what remained sealed beneath the overgrown garden, supposedly for ever. Now in 1988, with the planned redevelopment of the site in East Berlin, *After the Battle* secured the unique opportunity to visit the bunker before it, like the Chancellery, is swept away. This then is the story of those 50 years: from conception through completion; to destruction and development again.

Originally the German Chancellor's office was located in the old Radziwill Palace in the Wilhelmstrasse. A new extension (above) was constructed fronting the Wilhelmplatz in 1929-30 to which Hitler quickly had a balcony added when he became Reichskanzler in 1933. The large vehicle opening with huge bronze doors was cut to give access to the Ehrenhof when the New Reichs Chancellery was built in 1938. (Acme-British)



The vacant site pictured by Leif Jansson during a visit to Berlin in June 1974.



'This is the special and wonderful property of architecture: when the work has been done, a monument remains. That endures; it is something different from a pair of boots, which can also be made, but which the wearer wears out in a year or two and then throws away. This remains, and through the centuries will bear witness to all those who helped to create it'.

Thus, on January 10, 1939, Hitler addressed the 4,500 workers who had built, in record time, a new seat of government befitting a Reich Chancellor. That same year Hitler contributed an introduction to an illustrated account of the construction. Let us therefore give Hitler himself the opportunity to begin our own exploration of the building with his own description of the background leading up to his decision to commission a New Reichs Chancellery.

'When Bismarck decided to purchase the Reichskanzlerpalais — at that time the Radziwill Palace — after the refounding of the Reich — his own offices were still located in the Foreign Office. Perhaps the fact that the Reichskanzlerpalais was situated near the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may even have been the main reason for this particular acquisition. The building, which dates from the first half of the 18th century, had virtually no office accommodation of its own. It was an old residence of the nobility having well-maintained external facades but with highly tasteless renovations subsequently carried out internally. These embellishments were carried further at the end of the 19th century which gradually disfigured the building with those excessive adornments that enabled sumptuous plastering to hide the lack of genuine materials and correct proportions. Even the hall in which the sessions of the Berlin Congress were first held did not escape this process of "embellishment". Ugly wall-brackets and an enormous sheet metal chandelier were at that time indeed regarded as special attractions. Such paintings that the

Before the balcony was added the only way Hitler could acknowledge the crowds after 1933 was through a window. 'It was really too inconvenient,' Hitler remarked to Albert Speer who had designed the balcony. 'I could not be seen from all sides. After all, I could not very well lean out.'



After the 'Purge' of the Sturmabteilung on June 30, 1934, Hitler wanted the SA leadership transferred from Munich to Berlin. The very next day Hitler instructed Speer to rebuild the interior of the Borsig Palace on the corner with Voss-strasse to incorporate the new SA HQ. This resulted in the almost immediate eviction of the Vice Chancellor Franz von Papen. New stonework can be seen above the double doors.

building contained were poor specimens provided on loan from Prussian collections; while the portraits of the actual individual Reichs Chancellors — with the exception of a large picture of Bismarck — had absolutely no artistic merit at all.

'The park surrounding the building gradually went to waste. The reluctance to replace old, dying trees with new ones led increasingly to filling up these weatherworn and eroded trunks, first with bricks and later with concrete. As this practice had continued over a long period, there was no longer any park remaining, but rather a scene resembling the Houthulst forest after three years of British artillery fire.

'Although the pre-1918 Reichs Chancellors restored the building with varying degrees of taste, it gradually became dilapidated after the 1918 revolution. In 1934, when I decided to occupy the building, the greater part of the framework of the roof was rotten and the floors were completely decayed. For the Congress Hall, in which the diplomatic receptions were held, a police order restricted the numbers present at any one time to a maximum of 60 in view of the danger of collapse. A few months earlier, however, on the occasion of a reception of the Reichs President von Hindenburg, about 100 guests and servants were gathered in one room with the result that the floor split revealing joists consisting of nothing more than rotten timber which could be crumbled to dust with one's bare hands. A rain-storm would let in water, not only from above but from below as well, and more flowed into the ground floor rooms from the Wilhelmstrasse. In addition, water began to overflow from all available apertures, including the toilets. Since my predecessors could, for the most part, only count on a period of three, four or five months for their term of office, they did not feel obliged either to clear away the rubbish left by those who had occupied the place before them, or to take steps to see that their successors would find an improved situation. They had no formal obligations towards foreign countries since the latter in any event paid little attention to them. By 1934, the building had thus fallen into a state of complete disrepair, with ceilings and attics mouldering, wallpaper and floors decaying, and everywhere a scarcely bearable stench of decay.

'Meanwhile the newly-constructed office block on the Wilhelmplatz side of the Reichs Chancellery, which from the outside gave one the impression of a warehouse or of the city fire brigade building, was from the inside like a TB sanatorium.

In order to be able to use the building at all, I decided in 1934 to give it a general renovation. The first reconstruction was not paid for out of state funds but was covered by me personally. It was based on plans by Professor Troost and had the aim, 1) to move the accommodation and reception rooms, as far as possible, to the ground floor, and 2) to equip the first floor for the practical requirements of the Reichs Chancellery.

'Until then, my office as Reichs Chancellor was located in a room that was convenient for the Wilhelmplatz but which in size and layout was rather like the tasteless room of a general representative for cigarettes and tobacco products in a medium-sized enterprise. The heat made it impossible to work in this room with the windows closed, and if they were open the noise was prohibitive. As the Reichs Chancellor's receptions had up until that time been held in the Reichs-Chancellery, and likewise those of the old Reichs President since he lived there while the Presidential Palace was being reconstructed, the upper rooms were set aside for that purpose. However this of course meant that they were empty, and not put to any practical use during the greater part of the year. This was my reason for moving the reception rooms to the ground floor and



Night-time birthday parade for Hitler down the Wilhelmstrasse in April 1939 — the first to be held after the completion of the New Reichs Chancellery.



The view from the ruined forecourt of Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry in July shortly after the US Second Armoured Division arrived to complete the joint Allied occupation of Berlin. (Keystone)



The balcony remained to be seen until February 9, 1949 when a German demolition squad working for the Russians blew it off the front of the building as a safety measure although an act not without its propaganda value as the destruction of one of the symbols of the thousand year Reich. (Associated Press)



The corner of Wilhelmstrasse and Voss-strasse: left on May 4, 1945 and right on July 21. A Soviet checkpoint has been set up at the entrance to Voss-strasse. The direction sign in Russian points to Tempelhof airfield, the one on the opposite side of the road proclaiming a message from Stalin (in German): 'The



strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that it has no racial hatred for any peoples, not even that against the German people does not and will not remain, and that it has been educated in the spirit of human rights and to uphold the right to live of all peoples.' (US Army)

converting into offices those looking out onto the garden on the vacated first floor. The Congress Hall, which was not used throughout the year, was assigned for Cabinet meetings. As a suitable room for the large diplomatic and State receptions did not exist, I decided to give the architect Professor Gall the task of constructing a large hall suitable for the reception of 200 persons. In conjunction with the redesigning of the lower rooms which was already in progress, this went at least part way in meeting modest demands in this connection.

'But now the merging of the functions of the Reichs President with those of the Reichs Chancellor, which had taken place in 1934, necessitated not only new rooms for the Presidential staff and the aides of the Armed Forces but also suitable rooms for State receptions. This necessity led in the first place to the acquisition of the Borsig Palace; this being a building which perhaps did not appeal to us stylistically, but which nevertheless was infinitely better than the miserable internal layout of the 90-year-old Reichs Chancellery.

'Professor Speer thereby received his first commission for the development of the Reichs Chancellery. Within a short period, and without any changes in the external appearance, the building, which had been constructed by the architect Lucae, was brought into line with the factory-type building already constructed in the Wilhelmstrasse, and was equipped internally on a lavish scale. Momentarily at least, accommodation had now been found for the Presidential Chancellery, the Armed Forces Adjutantcy and the top SA leadership. The Party Chancellery, presided over by Party-member Bouhler, also received some rooms. The former office buildings of the Reichs-Chancellery was given a balcony on the Wilhelmplatz, the first decent architectural change. Nevertheless these alterations could of course only provide a temporary solution, since they did not solve the main problem. Then two events occurred which made me decide in January 1938 to provide a permanent solution. They were the following:

'1. To ease the traffic flow through Berlin from east to west, it had been intended to extend the Jägerstrasse and to project it through the Ministerial garden and the Tiergarten and thus create a further link with the Tiergartenstrasse. I considered that these plans worked out by the existing Berlin Urban Building Directorate were faulty, and commissioned Professor Speer to ensure that the necessary relief for the traffic on the

Leipzigerstrasse and Unter den Linden would be better solved in a straight line west from the Wilhelmplatz. However this meant that the Voss-strasse would have to cease to be a bottleneck and become a main thoroughfare. Since for obvious reasons this widening could not be achieved at the expense of losing the Wertheim warehouse [on the south side], this was better achieved on the other side of the street where the Reichs Chancellery park was located. The need to demolish the whole of this side, and rebuild thus followed as a matter of course.

'2. During December and January 1937-38 I had decided to solve the Austrian question, and thereby set up a Greater German State. Both for its official duties and for its representative functions necessarily linked to these, the old Reichs Chancellery would now no longer be adequate under any circumstances. On the 11th January 1938 I therefore entrusted the Generalbauinspektor, Professor Speer, with the task of rebuilding the Reichs Chancellery in the Voss-strasse and fixed the completion date for this as the 10th January 1939. The building was to be handed over on that day. Although we had already examined the proposal carefully during many meetings, its actual execution was an enormous problem as the building

work could not start before the houses in Voss-strasse were demolished. The end of March was therefore the earliest time when the actual construction work could begin, leaving a building period of barely nine months. That this deadline was achieved is solely due to the merit of this ingenious architect, to his artistic inclination and his unbelievable organisational talent, as well as the diligence of his work force. With this work the Berlin workers outshone themselves. I do not believe that, work-wise, such an achievement would have been possible anywhere else in the world. Conversely, I need not add that nothing remained undone in the social welfare sphere for those employed on the building. Nevertheless, the completion of this building, when considering the winter and late frosts, is only understandable if — as already pointed out — the exceptional productive capacity of the Berlin worker is taken into account.

'The ground plan of the building is determined by its function and the area available, and is clear and bold in its statement. The conception of the entire, immense, lateral expanse of the building along the Voss-strasse is outstanding, both from an artistic and a technical point of view. The grouping of the inner rooms running from the



The same view in April 1988 as East Berlin contractors labour to clear the area after the site was razed at the beginning of the 1960s.

Ehrenhof is not only appropriate for their purposes, and satisfying in relation to the practical needs, but is also truly splendid in its effect. The artistic layout of the individual rooms, thanks to the contributions of outstanding interior designers, sculptors, painters etc, is truly exceptional. The output of German craftsmen also finds expression here. The laying out of the garden has been completed as far as the section which still has to be used as a building site. The brief construction period made it impossible for the auditorium at the end of the large hall to be fully completed in its final form. This area is therefore only temporary but nevertheless has been taken to a point where the building can be used. Another two years will be needed before this area is finally completed. The Reichs Chancellery building — which is to be used for another purpose from 1950 — represents a supreme achievement, both technically and artistically. It pays tribute to the genius of its designer and master-builder Albert Speer.'

After the war Speer wrote in his description of the building of the New Chancellery that his acceptance of Hitler's deadline 'was the most thoughtless promise of my life'. Nevertheless the building was actually completed forty-eight hours ahead of schedule and Hitler was delighted. Speer described the Voss-strasse site as 'an invitation to string a succession of rooms on a long axis. From the Wilhelmplatz an arriving diplomat drove through the great gates into a court of honour. By way of an outside staircase he first entered a medium-sized reception room from which double doors almost seventeen feet high opened into a large hall clad in mosaics. He then ascended several steps, passed through a round room with domed

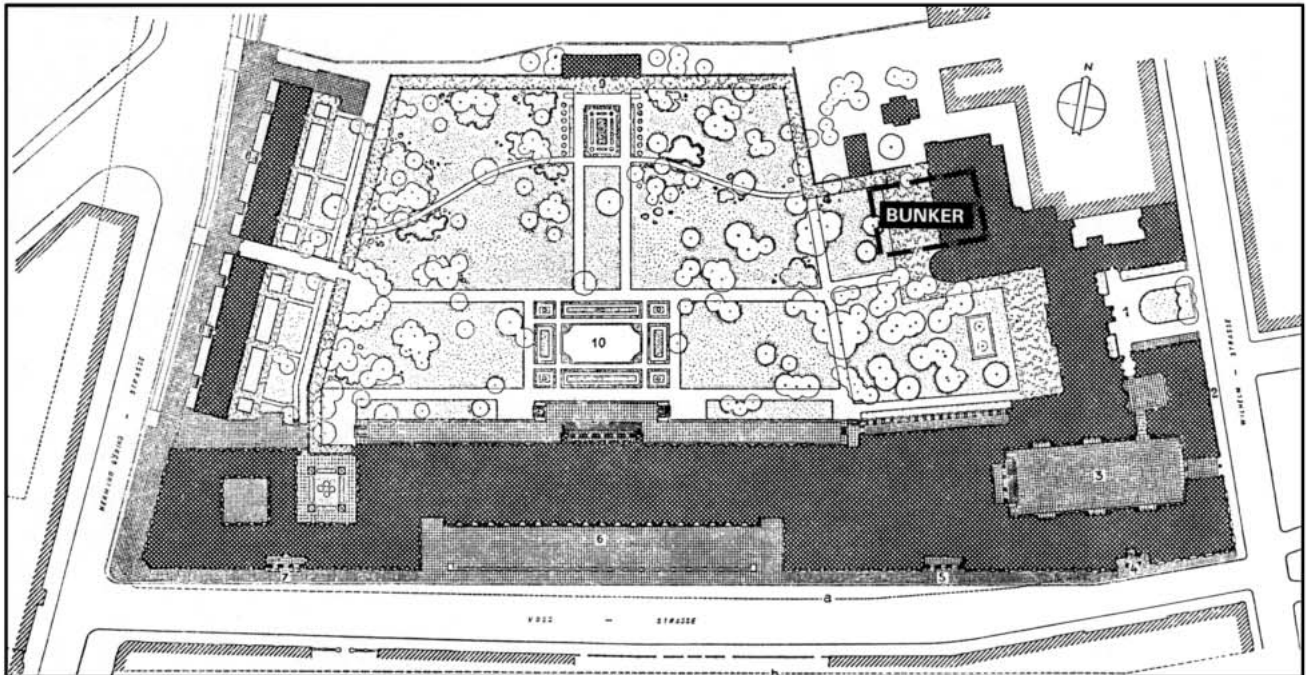


Hitler had formulated elaborate plans for rebuilding the centre of Berlin, the models for which were initially set up in the former exhibition room of the Berlin Academy of Arts. Speer records that it was Hitler's favourite architectural project and, 'in order to reach it undisturbed, he had doors installed between the Chancellery and our building, and a communicating path laid out'. Later they were moved to the model room in the New Chancellery. Looking westwards, this master model shows the area which incorporated the New Reichskanzlei built along Voss-strasse.



The 1945 aerial view, taken looking a little north of west, tells its own story (The position of the emergency exit to the

Führerbunker leading into the Chancellery garden, and covered in detail later in our story, is indicated.)



The New Reichs Chancellery. The former building line in Voss-strasse is indicated by 'a', the proposed south line as 'b'. Other features are: 1 Old Reichskanzlei; 2 The 1929-30 extension;

3 Ehrenhof; 4 Entrance to the former Borsig Palace; 5 and 7 Entrances in Voss-strasse; 8 Quarters for staff in Hermann Göring-strasse; 9 Conservatory and 10 Ornamental Pool.

ceiling, and saw before him a gallery four hundred and eighty feet long. Hitler was particularly impressed by my gallery because it was twice as long as the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Deep window niches were to filter the light, creating that pleasant effect I had seen in the Salle de Bal at the Palace of Fontainebleau.'

Hitler especially liked the long tramp that visiting dignitaries would have to take before they reached the reception hall. Speer was worried by the highly polished marble floors, but did not want to put down carpets. Hitler concurred, saying, 'Diplomats should have practice in moving on a slippery surface'.

A contemporary account of the New

Chancellery was given by Wilhelm Lotz in the special publication produced by Speer to mark its completion.

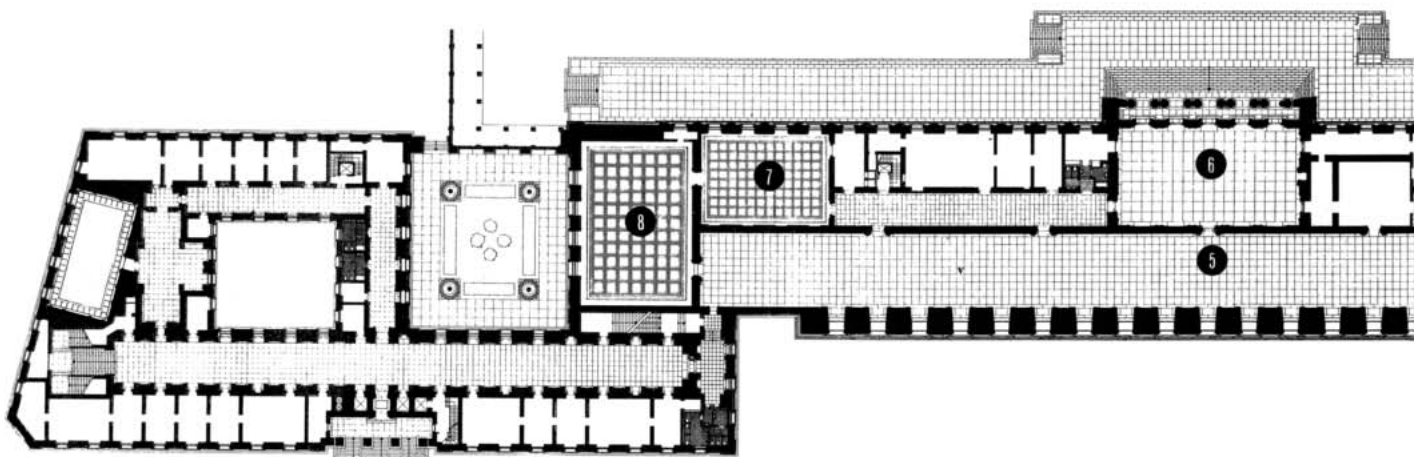
'The building of the new Reichs Chancellery confronted the architect with solving a problem for which there was no precedent in the history of architecture during the previous century', wrote Lotz, 'namely, the construction of a large representative building which embodied, both externally and internally, the might and volition of the State.'

'The planning and design problems which will be discussed later, had to be overcome during construction. The unusually rapid pace of building work meant actual planning

and drawing had to be carefully synchronised with the construction schedule.

'In January 1938 the Führer commissioned Albert Speer as architect responsible for the completion of the building in time for the New Year diplomatic reception to be held there on January 10, 1939. After a few hours reflection, Speer set out the deadlines for the various phases of the construction programme. These deadlines were then strictly observed with the result that the construction of this large building, with its mass of 360,000 cubic metres over an area of 16,300 square metres, was completed in a period of nine months. The Führer expressed his deep appreciation of this gigantic co-operative

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Ehrenhof (Courtyard of Honour) | 7. Reichskabinettsaal (State Cabinet Office) |
| 2. Vorhalle (Ante-room) | 8. Grosser Empfangssaal (Reception Hall) |
| 3. Mosaiksaal (Hall of Mosaics) | 9. Speisesaal (Dining Room) |
| 4. Runder Saal (Round Salon) | 10. Eagle in USAF Museum |
| 5. Marmogalerie (Marble Hall) | 11. Eagle in Imperial War Museum |
| 6. Arbeitszimmer des Führers (Hitler's Office) | 12. Eagle in Soviet Armed Forces Museum |





Although Hitler had already asked Speer to draw up plans for an enlargement to the existing Chancellery in 1935, the completion of the massive new development — almost 1,400

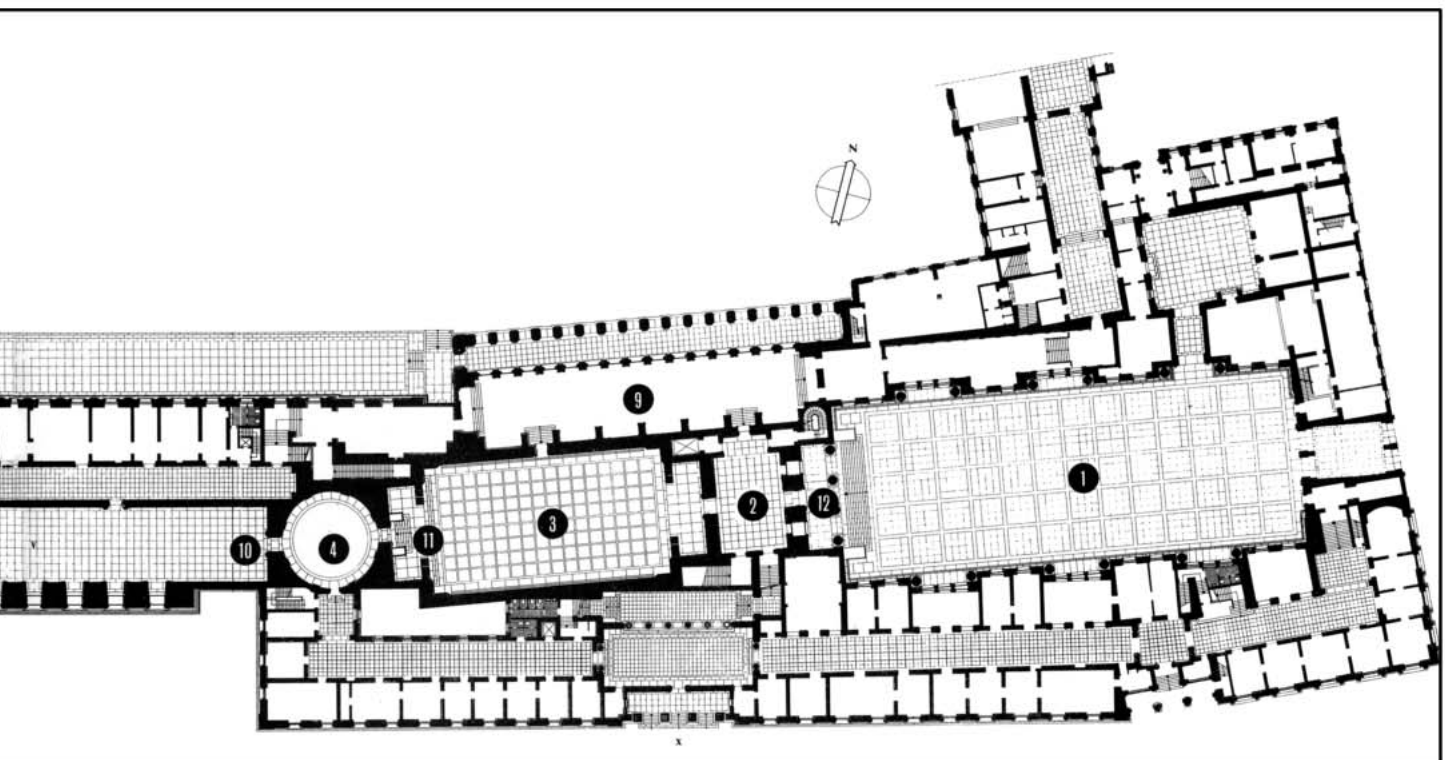
feet long along the entire north side of Voss-strasse — after the go-ahead was given in January 1938, in less than a year, must be a record for the building industry anywhere.

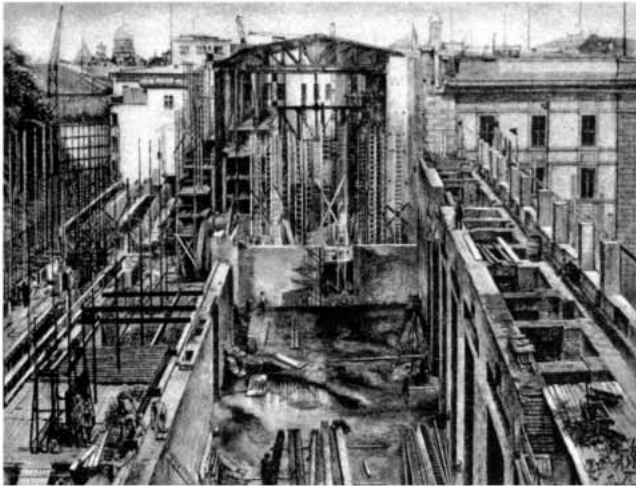
achievement by the architect, the works management, the building firms, the artists, craftsmen and labourers, both at the topping out ceremony and at the handover.

To enable the works to be completed on time, all the resources of modern building techniques were called upon. Seventeen tall cranes were installed to bring materials to

the building site. To overcome the severe winter cold during the last stages, hot air was injected into the building with air-heaters and the concrete mixers and scaffolding were covered with canopies and mats. The unusual and unprecedented nature of the assignment meant that the highest demands were made as regards the work-load and

quality of workmanship, since only the finest work was good enough for this project. The input of resources into labour and materials appears only modest, however, if we take into account the special requirements, when compared with those involved in the construction industry as a whole. Out of a 1,000 million bricks used in Berlin in one year,





only 20 million were utilised for the Reich Chancellery, and out of the 40,000 building workers available in Berlin, only one tenth were employed on the Reich Chancellery. This is quite a small proportion when one takes into account the immeasurable contribution this building has made to the appearance and significance of Germany's new empire.

'The Führer has followed the planning, building and finishing of this building project with particular eagerness. He has frequently appeared on the building site to see for himself that every participant was doing his best to ensure a successful outcome. As he explained at the time of the topping out ceremony, he took a close personal interest in this project, especially as it was a practical example of the profession which he himself had originally followed. He continued to discuss all details of the plans with the architect, and repeatedly put forward suggestions and offered advice.

'The draft plan drawn up by the architect Speer constitutes a project which in its spatial and architectural design is inspired by a truly creative approach; seeing that the edifice is not only fully characteristic as a creative entity but has been given a clear, organic relationship with its surroundings. Streets, squares and the building harmonise with each other. Furthermore, the building also shapes and determines its surroundings. From a side street of no particular character Voss-strasse, with the new building, has taken on a completely new appearance without losing its harmony. In particular, the widening in front of the middle section of the building has created a beautiful square-like open space without altering the character of the street. This will become still more striking if the Voss-strasse, as planned by the General Inspector of Building for the capital of the Reich, is continued in a straight line to the Tiergartenstrasse, thus forming a straight and direct link with the north-south axis.

'The most important part of the building, and the one which from the outside remains most strikingly in the memory, is the main building in the Voss-strasse. It is a fully self-contained entity, which, although it in fact links up with the old Reich Chancellery, should be regarded as an independent structure because of its size and disposition. It consists of a west part which begins in the Hermann Göring-strasse and mainly contains administrative rooms grouped around a patio. The middle section, which is set back from the street towards the garden, includes the Führer's office and those for his adjutants, the State Cabinet room and the large reception hall; and in addition the large Marmorgalerie which emerges from these rooms to form a wider, reception area. The west section leads from the street to offices and working rooms, and, in addition, this

Having rashly promised to have the building completed for the next New Year's diplomatic corps reception, Speer says that his first step was to immediately instruct the demolition of the existing buildings while plunging ahead with plans for the exterior. He had already advised Hitler that the old buildings would be demolished by March and that the topping out ceremony would be held on August 1. Round the clock working was the only way the punishing schedule could be maintained.

area can be considered as ancillary to the large reception salons and the Ehrenhof.

'From the Wilhelmplatz onwards, the changes resulting from the construction of the new building are very slight; seeing that the old Reich Chancellery was retained together with the extension in the Wilhelmplatz which was given the balcony designed by Albert Speer from which the Führer inspects the military parades in the Wilhelmstrasse.

'The reasons for the retention in 1930 of the extensions to the old Reich Chancellery are of a historical nature since it represents the only attempt at that time to construct a representative State building. It was an attempt that did not result in a striking architectural effect, as great buildings only come into being during momentous times. The facade of the Borsig Palace on the corner of Wilhelm and Voss-strasse, was retained. In connection with the new building, it was necessary to insert a large double portal in the facade of the extension building in the Wilhelmplatz in order to give access to the Ehrenhof of the new Reich Chancellery.

'Looking at the new building from the outside, its character shows up clearly in the

Voss-strasse. Here one can clearly see the three sections which show their intended character in the three parts of the frontage. The east and west parts are in line with the front of the street, while the middle section is set back a distance of 16 metres. If we ignore the Borsig Palace facade, the street thus contains three sections of an approximately equal length of between 100 and 120 metres. At the Borsig Palace, one portion of which juts out into the Voss-strasse, the height of the floors in the new front conforms to those of the Palace. The transition to the part which has three floors is effected by the insertion of a large doorway. A door is also inserted between the Borsig Palace and the new two-storey facade. A third doorway is located in the middle of the west section which has three floors.

'The new entrances are constructed with muschelkalk [shell limestone] pillars one metre thick and nine metres high, which support the ceiling joists that are constructed with the same material and carry the national emblem as designed by Professor Schmid-Ehmen. The wing-span of the eagle measures 7.75 metres. Steps lead through the portal to the door located in the muschelkalk



Exactly 50 years after they were laid, those same foundations are seen being ripped out in preparation for its redevelopment by the Baudirektion for Hauptstadt Berlin. Picture by Michael Davis on April 10, 1988.



walls of the recess in the doorway. The doors open into an entrance hall which gives access to the corridors and staircases of the office floor. The design of the doorway thus includes the total height of the facade; the doors not being inlet into the facade, but being a part of it, so that full effect is given to their prominent and distinguished appearance.

'The frontages of the east and west sections also have their moulded members constructed of muschelkalk. The wall surfaces between these mouldings are rendered with yellow roughcast. Looked at from the outside, both these side-sections, which internally comprise the offices and official rooms, thus convey the character of an

The garden front looking south-west. Behind the central pillars lies Hitler's office which, facing north, must have been in shadow all day.

administrative building; but as a result of the masterly design, with the careful attention given to each individual profile, an appearance of special merit, and one which is Prussian in character in the best sense of that word, is achieved.

'On the garden side, it is the central section of the building, which has a length of 189 metres, that dominates. It has a terrace 190 metres long and 9.5 metres deep, which gives access to the garden, and from which steps at the sides lead away from the projecting central ramp. The facade has a facing of muschelkalk surrounding the areas

covered with yellow roughcast. The special brilliance of the design of this side of the garden is provided by the columns in front of the Führer's office. The nobly-shaped marble columns are arranged in pairs and carry bronze capitals, partially gilded to enhance their effectiveness. The timber work, strong corner columns and fascia of this front part measuring 18 metres high by 30.8 metres long are constructed with muschelkalk. The fine outlines of this group of columns in the powerful structure projecting from the front, with the terrace in front of it, are a brilliant enrichment of the beautiful picture which has



Hitler's six-year tenure having expired, the new landlord inspects the property. Churchill's visit took place on July 16,



1945 before the Big Three conference, but ten days later he too was out of office in the first post-war general election. (IWM)



Models were constructed and painted to simulate the materials to be used. Speer explained in his memoirs, published in 1969 after his release from Spandau, that to meet the deadline he had to order many components before the architectural data had been definitely settled. 'For example', wrote Speer, 'the longest delivery times were required for the enormous hand-knotted rugs which were to be used in several large salons. I decided their colours and size before I knew what the rooms they were



meant for would look like. In fact the rooms were more or less designed around these rugs. I decided to forgo any complicated organisational plan and schedule, since these would only have revealed that the project could not possibly be carried out within the time limit.' *Left: Speer and Hitler view the proposed New Reichskanzlei. Right: Another model shows the proposed interior of the large reception room — the Grosser Empfangssaal.*

come into being in the peaceful seclusion of the garden which frames the buildings like the setting of a costly jewel. To the right and left of the front part, on the terrace, two large sculptures of horses by Professor Thorak have been installed, with their strongly-modelled, lively contours particularly blending with the facade. The terrace is rounded off on the east side with a vaulted archway constructed with large blocks of muschelkalk. This runs in front of the dining room, which is entered through high, rounded doors, and in the direction of the garden constitutes the ground floor of the east side, above which the library is located, overlooking the garden.

'On the other side, in front of the west section, there is a pergola which separates the garden from the buildings and leads to the conservatory. This conservatory which is constructed with tufaceous limestone, is located directly opposite the Führer's office. The front side consists of large French doors with fine cross-bars. On the path connecting the terrace to this conservatory is an ornamental pool decorated with sculptures by the Viennese sculptor Ambrosi.

'It has thus been possible to succeed in

giving the main building a strong and arresting appearance, despite the fact that the design is of course conceived mainly for the street side. On the garden aspect, however, it is the calm and more detached character of the garden that dominates the same main section of the building. Though the rhythm of the mouldings is the same, and likewise the architectural appearance, both frontages nevertheless have different characters. But the dominant motif is the setting off of the middle of the building, which on the street side is achieved through the enclosed frontal blocks of muschelkalk, and on the garden side through the columns in front, which stand before the Führer's office, and open on to the terrace and the garden.

'We now move on through the new large double doors in the Wilhelmstrasse, in order to examine the east-west layout of the rooms. Heavy bronze doors lead through the doorway to the Ehrenhof. This measures 68 metres in length and is 26 metres wide. The courtyard's inner wall is constructed with Jura dolomite. The side walls, which contain the windows of the surrounding rooms, are divided into six sections, each of which contains three recesses enclosed with col-

umns of the same stone. Here the fine grey hue of the material used and the elegant mouldings give an impression of solemn peace. We realise how beautiful a courtyard with such a co-ordinate design can be, and how it rouses the spirits of those who enter it. Facing the entrance from the Wilhelmplatz, steps lead to recessed bronze doors which give access to the interior. Four large columns frame this entrance, which on the outside is supported by two bronze figures known as "Partei" and "Wehrmacht". These are the work of Professor Breker, and the Führer has said that they are among the finest yet created in Germany. Inside the recess is a bronze national emblem, the work of Professor Schmid-Ehmen, and in the bays of the ceiling are ornamental mosaics devised by Professor Kaspar.

'For illumination in the evenings, lights have been built into the wall niches. These shine upwards, and thereby emphasise the structure of the building with artificial light. The facade of the Voss-strasse is likewise floodlit in the evenings with searchlights built into the buildings opposite but in a way that avoids dazzling passers-by. Here also, therefore, we see once more how Albert Speer



True to his promise, Speer met the August 1 deadline, enabling Hitler to sing his praises in his speech the following day: 'I myself have been in the business, in building, and know what a schedule means. This has never happened before. It is a unique

achievement'. *Left: Hitler thanks the workforce in the Deutschlandhalle and right the topping out stage, achieved after just four months' construction work. This is the centre section in front of the Marmorgalerie.*



brings artificial light into play as a constructional factor, and as a means of giving strong and impressive prominence to the structure of a building, even in the evenings. We all know the new methods he has followed for lighting the Zeppelinfeld in Nuremberg with the light-dome which he invented, and for the lighting of the East-West Axis in Berlin.

'We have till now examined the building's external design and the dominating influence of the building on its surroundings. We must also draw attention to an element that has made an especially fine and novel contribution to giving the building an entirely new significance which will be recognised in the future, namely, the careful and completely artistic way in which the colours, and especially natural colours of the fine materials used, have been employed as a contribution to the creation of this building. It is always the colour pertaining to the material that determines the basic shade of colour. In evolving the structure, other shades of colour always appear. In all the tones, the fine grey gives the other colours the greatest prominence. The yellowish renderings inserted as wall fillings are thus emphasised by the muschelkalk grey but charming new colours also remain to be discovered; such as the delicate brown of the window frames in the recesses, or the beautiful bronze hue of the sculptures in the front of the stone.

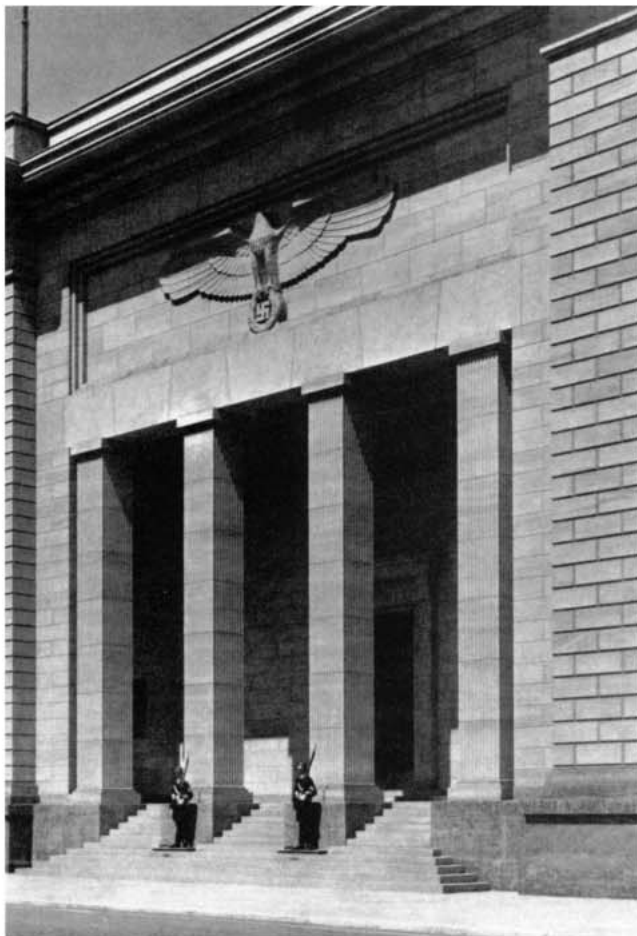
The big effect of the interior rooms, which Hermann Giesler has described as "obliging the visitor to traverse a secret wonderland at a calm and measured pace", makes its impact with practically no connection with the world outside. This seclusion, which makes itself felt through denying the Mosaiksaal and the Runder Saal of any lighting from above, is also achieved on the street side by the



The 'New Berlin' architectural models, usually in 1:50 scale, were Hitler's pride and joy and he never lost an opportunity to show them off. Here the Führer leads a party of dignitaries around the exhibition late in 1938. The main Voss-strasse entrance can be seen on the left with the plaster cast for the 'Genius and Kämpfer' reliefs in the Runder Saal (Round Salon) behind.

projecting west section, which contains only offices. On the garden side, prominence is given to the dining room, the area containing the Führer's adjutants and his own office. This sequence thus runs in a straight line till it reaches the Ehrenhof where the seclusion

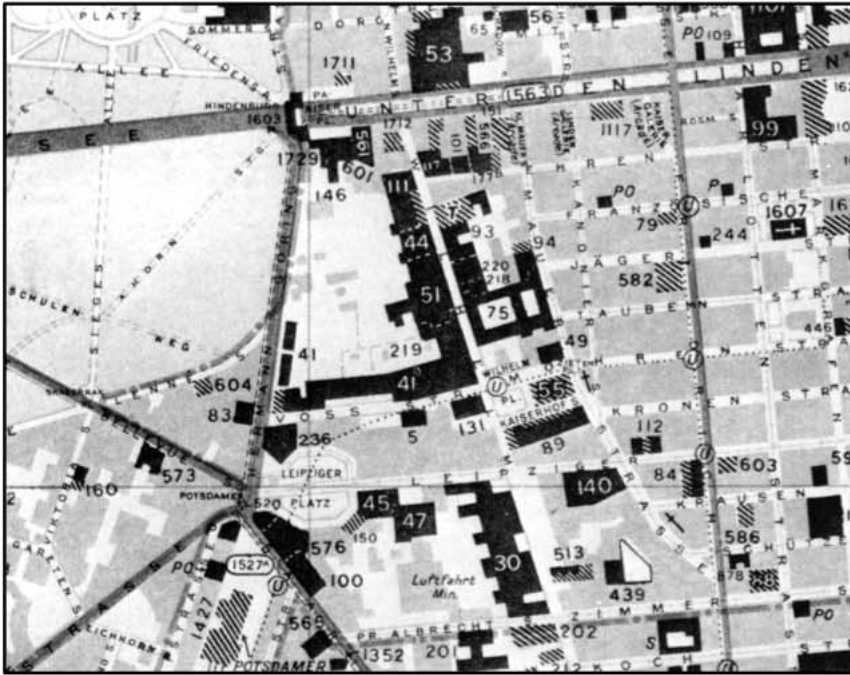
and powerful surroundings prepare the way to the inner rooms. The high windows of the Marmorgalerie provide a link with the outside world, but this does not impair the effect since the windows with their deep soffits give this gallery its own restrained rhythm.



The great west door in reality. The permanent guard was provided by Hitler's own, the Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler. The eagle was by Kurt Schmid-Ehmen.



The eagle has fallen ... and one of Hitler's warriors lies sprawled amid the debris of war ... in this case hundreds of NSDAP Service Medals.



The New Reichskanzlei formed the core of the Governmental complex centred on the Wilhelmstrasse. This map extract is taken from a British War Office plan prepared in 1944 listing every public building and utility, police stations, schools, hotels, municipal buildings, telephone exchanges, railway stations, industrial establishments, hospitals, embassies and other conspicuous buildings, the locations of which would be of paramount importance to an army of occupation. Those bordering the Chancellery are: 41 Reichskanzlei, 51 Foreign Office, 44 Former President's Palace, 111 Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 561 Adlon Hotel, 117 Ministry of Science, Education and National Training, 93 Ministry of Justice, 220 HQ Berlin Branch NSDAP, 218 Commissioner for Foreign Policy, 75 Ministry of Propaganda, 131 Ministry of Transport, 5 War Transport Centre, and 236 office of the Gauleiter for Berlin.

'From the double doors on the Wilhelmplatz to the west end of the Marmorgalerie, the building covers a length of more than 300 metres, nearly half taken up by the Marmorgalerie itself. This is the route that official visitors have to follow if they wish to reach the Empfangsall [Reception Hall] after entering the Ehrenhof. The enduring impression left by the rich and varied design of the rooms ranks among the finest that German interior decoration has ever produced. It is not so much the unusual dimensions and the richness of the very fine and rare materials used which evoke this impression, but the development of the elements deriving from the purpose and nature of each particular room. The high standard that Albert Speer set himself in fulfilling his task called for the use of very special materials which, in turn, demand the best design if their nature is to be fully expressed.

'The Vorhalle or ante-room, is a rectangular room, small in size and lower in height than the adjoining rooms. It nevertheless measures 17 metres by 10 metres, and has a height of 7.5 metres. At the sides, doors lead from this room to the adjoining rooms; northwards to the dining room, southwards to the floors giving access to the offices in the east section. The two high, slender doors which connect the Vorhalle with the Ehrenhof and the Mosaiksaal are constructed from strong, bronze sheeting. For the wall coverings and mouldings, use has been made of the famous light red Untersberg marble that is quarried near Salzburg. The floor consists of dark red Saalburg marble with a richly-coloured carpet. In accordance with its character, the room contains little furniture other than chairs with light-coloured damask coverings and a large table with fine marble panelling. The artificial lighting comes from bronze wall-brackets, and the daylight enters through the



To describe the interior of the New Reichskanzlei, perhaps it would be best to follow the route taken by a VIP visitor arriving by car at the Wilhelmplatz. He would enter here — the doorway

which had been cut in the old Chancellery extension through to the Ehrenhof — although in this picture Churchill has just completed his visit and is seen leaving. (IWM)



two windows on the right and left sides of the door leading to the Ehrenhof.

'The Mosaiksaal to which we now come is a room which is architectonic in the purest sense since the effect is achieved merely through the room itself without any additional factors such as furniture or fabrics. Furniture is normally an element in the internal design of a room that forms a link between room and people — both by its dimensions and emotionally — but in the case of this room, this connection is quite deliberately renounced. To those who enter this hall, it always appears as a large picture. It keeps them at a distance and preserves its own great individuality. This self-dependent strength in spatial surroundings imparts to the Mosaiksaal, in the true sense, what we characterise as monumental and sublime. For sublime means that a great formal impact is so enhanced that it goes beyond what man can do, detaches itself from any bodily relationship with him, and reposes on itself alone. Correct dimensions do not play the overriding part in this connection. In every event, they are not the decisive factor regarding whether a style or a room is monumental. The important thing is the relationship of the dimensions to each other but a degree of exaggeration of the dimensions is nevertheless necessary.

'The Mosaiksaal covers an area of 46.2 by 19.2 metres, and is 16 metres to the skylight. The walls are finished with a smooth marble rendering, up to a height of 13.5 metres. Above this, the roof moulding juts out with multiple fluting supporting the skylight. The door recesses are flanked with two pairs of columns. The recesses, columns and wall surfaces are built with Rotgrau Schnöhl — Austrian marble found in the Salzburg area. It is distinguished by its beautiful dark-red colour mixed with patches of light grey but the particular impression made by the room comes from its lavish and novel use of mosaics. This technique, which took root in Germany during the last century, has been almost completely ignored during recent decades; both for lack of suitable contracts, and because there was rarely justification for such enrichment of wall and brickwork surfaces unless there was an architect available who had confidence that there would be a long-lasting and strong result. However Albert Speer was just such an architect who was familiar with the special value of this old technique and, in designing his building, he gave it a part to play which did full justice to the character of mosaics. Professor Kaspar has provided ten large surfaces measuring 2.7 by 8.4 metres with narrow strips between the marble mouldings. The mosaic base

The view of the double doors from inside the courtyard: *left* on completion in 1939 and *right* in June 1945. Sergeant R. S. Baker of the Army Film and Photographic Unit stands where Hitler would have waited to greet an important visitor. (IWM)



Soviet picture of the wrecked Courtyard of Honour. Through the open doors can be seen the buildings on the far side of the Wilhelmplatz.



Today only one of these original buildings survives, half hidden by building material in Tom Posch's 1988 shot. The angle is a little more to the south to show the modern Czechoslovakian embassy since erected to fill the entire southern half of the former Wilhelmplatz.



Right: The view looking inwards towards the door to the Vorhalle, the steps being flanked by Arno Breker's statues depicting the twin cornerstones of the Third Reich: 'The Party', left, and 'The Armed Forces' right. *Above:* The latter (or a plaster cast of it) can be seen in the model exhibition; Dr Karl Brandt, Hitler's personal doctor, stands appropriately beneath the scrotum! The eagle has been the national emblem of Germany ever since Charlemagne King of the Franks, was crowned in Rome in AD 800 when he claimed direct succession to the Roman emperors. He adopted the Roman eagle for his coat-of-arms and in various forms and attitudes it was borne by successive German emperors. The Second Reich of 1871–1918 and the Weimar Republic after 1919 both used the single-headed spread-eagle and Hitler continued the tradition with the addition of the swastika wreath held in its talons. Kurt Schmid-Ehmen was the Third Reich's 'eagleman', his work appearing over many of the doorways in the New Chancellery. In the Ehrenhof the eagle was sculpted in the displayed position but with wings inverted.

presents various dark-red shades of colour, and its small glass stones give it a lively effect. The ornaments consist of tendrils and eagles in light grey shades with small gold stones and other small coloured stones.



Sergeant Baker is pictured in the Ehrenhof by his colleague Sergeant Hewell with a Russian soldier as his guide. (IWM)



The Ehrenhof today. We are looking due west towards the inner of the two security walls built at this point of East Berlin.

Sergeant Baker found the eagle lying on the top of the steps. . . .

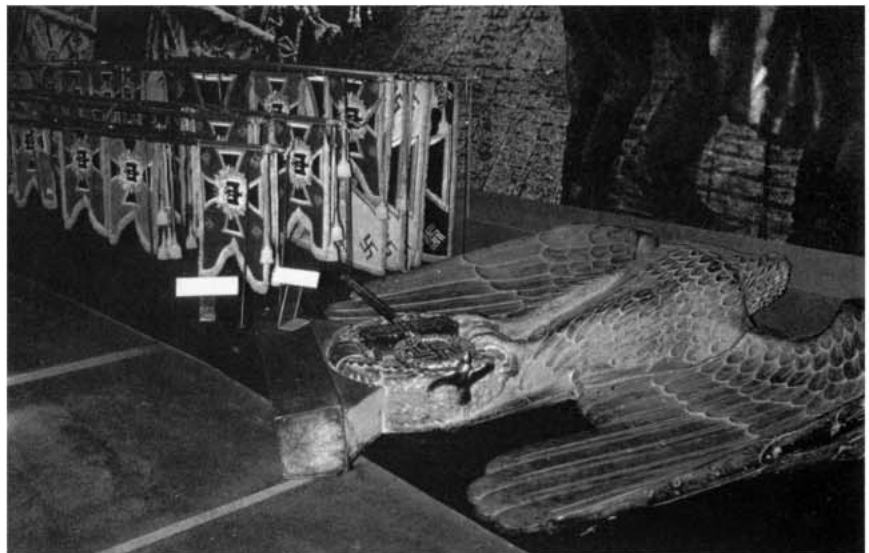
'The floor is laid with large slabs of Saalburg marble interposed with ornamental strips of marble and gold mosaic. The room receives natural light through the skylight, with artificial lighting provided by elements above the skylight. In addition, lights are positioned in the grooves of the big roof designed to emit indirect light from behind bronze grills. Bronze national emblems made by Kurt Schmid-Ehmen crown both of the large doors.

'A very successful feature of the design of the Chancellery is the insertion of a round domed room — the Runder Saal — which invites the visitor to pause in it and collect his thoughts. The walls are laid with marble up to a height of 10.5 metres. The dome is the work of Hermann Kaspar. It has a light-coloured coating making it so light and free that we are scarcely aware that it is a dome as it rises above the marble walls. The skylight, at a height of 16 metres consists of a broad bronze ring. The artificial lighting is provided indirectly through fittings which are inserted into recesses above the walls to illuminate the light-coloured vaulting of the dome. In addition, there are lights above the skylight so that light comes from the same direction as the natural light. The effect of the architecture in the evening is therefore the same as during the day. This avoids the contrast that we can often encounter if a room has a quite different artificial lighting compared with daylight.

'The walls are divided into eight sections, in two of which are located the doors on the longitudinal axis. A further section contains a smaller door leading to the administrative wing. Statues by Arno Breker stand in front of the five remaining sections. The marble used in this room consists of two types of different colours, with the dark-red and the lighter stone quarried at Adnet in Austria in juxtaposition. This involves a special technique known as incrustation. The floor of this room, 14.25 metres in diameter, consists of a mosaic devised by Hermann Kaspar.

'We now enter the Marmorgalerie, which continues the east-west sequence. Here Albert Speer resurrected and gave a new meaning to a form of architecture for which there no longer appeared to be any place. Although this is basically a communicating

. . . and forty years later our author Andrew Mollo found the same eagle . . . now 1,000 miles away in Moscow. The massive bronze now lies in front of a symbolic photo of the end of the Third Reich in the Central Museum of the Soviet Armed Forces.





From the Ehrenhof a visitor would then enter the Vorhalle from the door on the left. This was an ante-room with side doors leading to stairwells to the other floors. The door on the right leads to the Mosaiksaal.

area it is, above all, the climax of the room sequence — the area in front of the Führer's office.

'In those days when there was a feeling for lavish room layouts, special attention was always given to the contribution made by staircases, floors and galleries. Wherever men appeared as representatives of the State and its power, the scope of the buildings concerned was widely extended, and the salons and halls became more important than rooms and chambers themselves.

'The Marmorgalerie of the new Reichs Chancellery is its most impressive room as regards constructional lavishness. It covers 146 metres in length; has a breadth of 12

metres, and a height of 9.5 metres, and runs behind the whole length of the middle section. A mirror-bright floor made of Saalburg Altrot marble extends over the whole surface. The walls consist of light-coloured marble slabs giving the gallery an unrestricted and splendid lightness and providing a most effective background for the colours of the furnishings and tapestries.

'On the street side, the room is divided by nineteen high windows, strongly profiled, and consisting of a dark-red marble known as Deutschrot. The soffit depth of each window is 2.1 metres, so that the deep window recesses make a striking accompaniment to the surrounding frames along the whole

length of the gallery. The windows, which are 6 metres high and 2.35 metres wide, consist of frosted panes fitted into wooden frames with bronze glazing bars. Opposite stand five doors with borders consisting of the same marble. The middle door leads into the Führer's office and is crowned with a monogrammed shield; the other doors, which lead to the areas in front of the adjutants' rooms, carry the similar shields decorated with coats of arms, all being the work of the sculptor Hans Vogel. Above the doors which lead to the Runder Saal and the large Reception Salon — the Grosser Empfang — are national emblems contributed by Kurt Schmid-Ehmen. Wall lamps with



The Hall of Mosaics — predominantly red marble with inlays featuring a double eagle motif by Hermann Kaspar.



The hall was 46.2 metres by 19.2 metres — say 150 feet long and 60 feet wide — just short of 10,000 square feet. The height was in keeping with the scale of the room at 45 feet. Some idea of the size is shown in the picture *above*, taken at the parade for newly-commissioned SS officer cadets on Hitler's 50th birthday, four months after Speer had handed over the completed building.



From opulence to decadence in less than a decade. The magnificent building, then destined to last for a thousand years, in ruins in 1945 and now totally swept away including the foundations.

gilded bronze fittings give the room a festive character, while lights built into the windows radiate additional light into the room from the same direction from which the daylight enters.

The Marmorgalerie presents a picture of lively and beautiful colours as a result of the groups of furniture that are arranged on carpets between the doors in the long wall. Tapestries hang between the doors, currently the famous Alexander ones chosen from the Vienna Kunsthistorische State Museum. The furniture, designed by Albert Speer, comprises brilliant examples of German furniture-

Right: During the hand-over inspection tour the client was introduced by Speer to key workers assembled in the Mosaic Hall. From Hitler's attire, perhaps we can assume that the heating system was not yet fully operational. *Below:* The next room was the Runder Saal — through the doorway we look back to the Mosaiksaal with another of Schmid-Ehmen's eagles.



Ascending the ten steps at the end of the Mosaiksaal led one into the Round Salon, a clever device to join the two halls on either side which would otherwise have met at an angle. Decorated with more mosaics by Kaspar and reliefs above the doors by Breker, it led directly to the hall of halls — the Marmorgalerie. *Left:* Here we are looking back towards the way

we have entered. *Right:* The 1945 caption writer, although not identifying the location other than 'the Chancellery', took particular care to let us believe this this damage was specifically caused by an American bomb! (Keystone) The Breker reliefs were called 'Genius' and 'Kämpfer' representing Daring and Caring. Here we see the female form 'Genius'.





In May 1945, Major General Edmund W. Hill was the special Air Force deputy to General Carl Spaatz for the occupation of Berlin. On his tour of the Chancellery, Hill saw that two eagles still remained and a fellow officer made a \$10 bet that he couldn't get one down as a souvenir. Hill, who had served in Moscow as an Air Section liaison officer to the USSR, promptly engaged the help of the Russians who agreed that Hill could have one of the eagles while they had the other. Hill took the eagle back with him to the States in the bomb bay of his aircraft

and shortly before his death in May 1973 wrote up the story of its capture. In his will he requested that the eagle be given to the US Air Force Museum at Wright Patterson AFB, Ohio, and it was donated by his widow, Mildred, in February 1974. Hill said it came from the doorway leading to Hitler's office. *Left:* Inasmuch that the door from the Runder Saal to the Marmorgalerie was on the route 'to' his office this is correct, although it did not come from the office itself, nor was it the one from the Mosaiksaal shown in the museum display.

making, with beautiful marquetry and costly coverings. The room's splendid colour effects are further intensified by the choice flowers and plants.

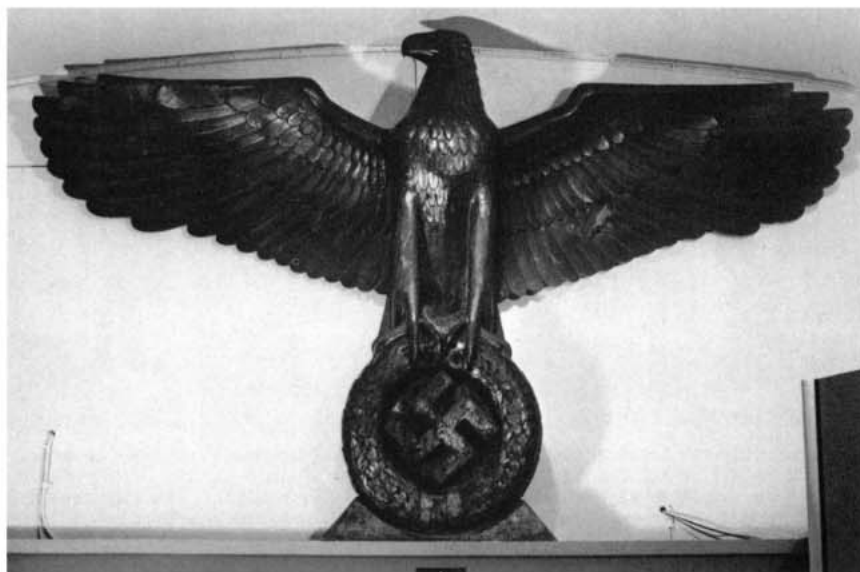
The Führer's office looks out to the garden terrace through five French windows 6 metres high and 2 metres wide. Five similar bays, like those formed by the French windows, are repeated on the opposite wall constructed with fine, inlaid panels. In the middle bay on this side is the entrance door, which leads in from the Marmorgalerie. There are two more doors on each of the narrow sides, which lead to the State Cabinet Room and to the areas where the adjutants' rooms are located. The office, which is 27 metres long and 14.5 metres wide, has walls consisting of a dark-red marble from Austria, known as Limbacher. At a height of

9.75 metres, the room has a panelled ceiling with beams of darker wood and is a splendid feat of joinery. On the floor made of Ruhpolding marble lies a single large carpet.

The furnishings and layout are devised to be completely subordinate to the main spatial effects. On the narrow east side, a fireplace measuring 2.7 metres high and 3.25 metres wide has been built of the same marble as the walls for which Richard Klein has devised fine panels made of cast iron with figurative reliefs. The shields above the side doors are also the work of Richard

Klein, while the national emblem above the entrance door, which is made of carved and gilded wood, was devised by Kurt Schmid-Ehmen. Albert Speer has designed the new furniture for this room: the Führer's big writing desk, the credenza unit on the west wall, and the large map table in front of the centre of the window which consists of an especially fine piece of marble from Austria that was quarried and dressed from a single slab measuring 5 by 1.6 metres. The pattern for the inlay work was designed by Hermann Kaspar.

Apart from the Moscow example already described, the third Schmid-Ehmen eagle known to have been taken from the Chancellery is that *below*, now on display in London at the Imperial War Museum. It is the one from above the west doorway in the Mosaiksaal and was donated to the museum in July 1948 by the War Office following its display in a 'Germany under Control' exhibition.





The great Marble Gallery at 146 metres — nearly 500 feet — especially pleased Hitler as it was double the length of the famous Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. The windows on the left overlooked the Voss-strasse. (US Army)





Left: Hitler declared that he liked his diplomatic visitors to practise walking on slippery surfaces. In this rather poor quality shot, a delegation led by Grossadmiral Raeder echoes down the marble hall as they approach the holy of holies — the Führer's



office — behind the centre of the five doorways. **Right:** Little regard for the expensive red marble flooring by Sergeant Baker in his hob-nailed army boots. The chair can be seen in the overall view reproduced on page 19.

'Over the fireplace hangs Lenbach's famous portrait of Bismarck. The basic colours of this room come from a combination of the beautiful brown shades of the wood and the red-brown of the marble. The fine materials used create a colour synthesis that is severe but filled with restrained strength, such as the Führer loves when at work. Great thoughts are born here, decisive discussions take place in the narrowest of circles, and we enter this room with a feeling of reverence, since the great creative spirit of the man who works here consecrates the surroundings.

'From the Führer's room, a communicating floor leads westwards in front of the adjutants' rooms to the State Cabinet Room. Here a long conference table fills the centre and the heavy armchairs, with their wine-red coverings ornamented with the national emblem, were made from designs prepared by Paul Ludwig Troost and brought over from the old Reichs Chancellery.

'As the Führer made clear in his introduction [page 5], in the case of Grosser Empfang reception salon at the end of the large gallery, here the situation is a provisional one. In its present condition, the salon is 24.5 metres long, 16.5 metres wide, and 11.6 metres high. It was here that the Führer



When the Russians came to build their war memorial at Treptow Park in south-east Berlin it was faced with red marble taken from the Marmorgalerie. Mike Davis took this shot in April 1988.



The 'Arbeitszimmer des Führers' with its monogram over the outer door by Hans Vogel was guarded by the Leibstandarte.



From the heady days of 1939 to final defeat in 1945 at the hands of Hitler's sworn enemy from the East.



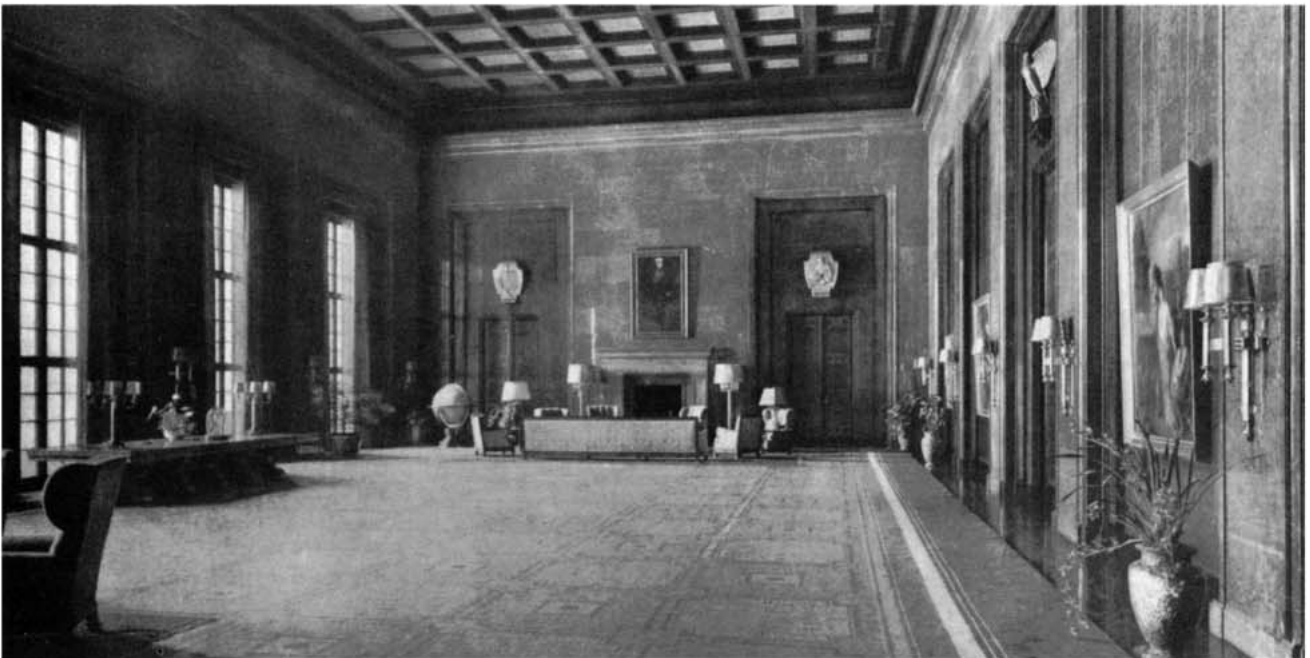
Hitler: 'On the long walk from the entrance they'll get a taste of the power and grandeur of the German Reich!' Having traversed the series of hallways and walked more than 700 feet, a visitor would finally have reached the inner sanctum, one can be sure not without some trepidation. The room itself was 27 metres by 14.5 metres (about 90 feet by 50 feet) with five windows opening out onto the garden terrace. In the pictures *above* the windows are reflected in the Limbacher marble. Speer added gilded shields by Klein over the four end doors depicting the four virtues: Wisdom, Prudence, Fortitude and Justice, although he admitted after the war that he didn't know why! Speer wrote that 'the study met with Hitler's undivided approval. He was particularly pleased with the inlay on his desk representing a sword half drawn from its sheath. "Good, good . . . When the diplomats sitting in front of me at this desk see that, they'll learn to shiver and shake".'





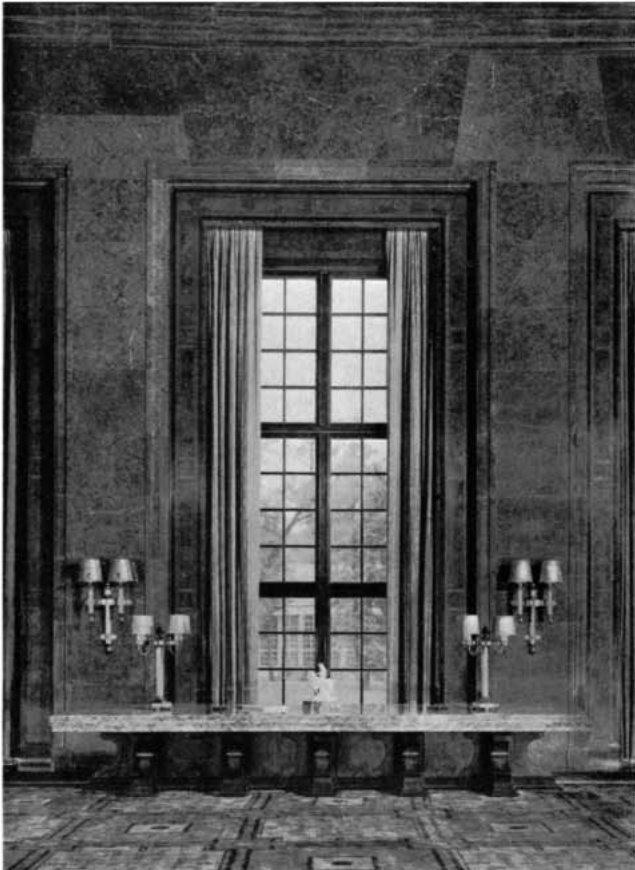
In the scramble for souvenirs in 1945, Hitler's study naturally came in for close attention. *Left:* The base of the globe stands minus its world — possibly the one *right* taken outside to be

photographed by Staff Sergeant Ben Rosenblatt in a more dramatic setting beneath the balcony, originally captioned with the theme of 'the end of a Dictator's world'. (US Army)



These pictures have often been published with the 1945 captions stating that this is the remains of Hitler's desk. It is of course the upturned map table, seen on the left in the picture

centre in front of the central window. (The globe is in the far corner.) *Right:* Here Corporal Rene Hartley and her ATS gang attempt to take home a memento of their trip to Berlin.



July 1939. Behind the table, which was personally designed by Albert Speer, the central windows, with the conservatory visible on the far side of the garden.



July 1945. The centre windows being blocked by the upturned table, Churchill emerges onto the terrace through the one to its right. (IWM)



When heavy air attacks on Berlin began, the tapestries and paintings had been taken down from the walls and the carpets rolled up for safe keeping and stored with valuable pieces of furniture in the cellars. Thus by 1945 the building was devoid of



many of its fine furnishings and much more had disappeared by the time Churchill toured the building on July 16. *Left:* Here a Soviet officer carries off a bronze head and *right* Ray Holmes shows off his wall fitting taken 24 hours after VE day.



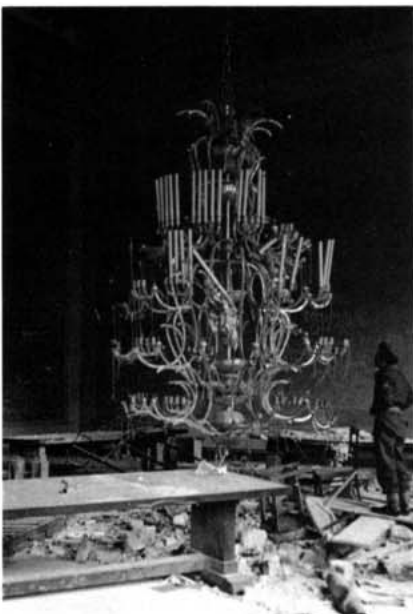
Hitler's address of thanks to the 4,500 workers and countless sub-contractors who had toiled to complete the building on time was delivered to the assembled workforce in the Sportpalaast: 'I stand here as representative of the German people. And whenever I receive anyone in the Chancellery, it is not the private individual Adolf Hitler who receives him, but the Leader



of the German nation — and therefore it is not I who receive him, but Germany through me. For that reason I want these rooms to be in keeping with their high mission. Every individual has contributed to a structure that will outlast the centuries and will speak to posterity of our times. This is the first architectural creation of the new, great German Reich.'

received the Diplomatic Corps on the 11th January, immediately after its handover. The treatment of the walls with a fine plaster finish has kept the salon very light in colour. A large hand-woven carpet covers a parquet floor. Particularly outstanding are two cut-glass chandeliers. After Albert Speer had

And so to the grand opening — the first official function which enabled Hitler to display his new showpiece. The New Year diplomatic reception went ahead exactly as Speer had promised twelve months' earlier. In Hitler's introduction on page 5, he mentions rather mysteriously that the Chancellery would have another use from 1950. This was an oblique reference to his great master plan for Berlin for by this time a new palace of 50 million cubic feet would have dwarfed the New Chancellery, the reception room alone being large enough to contain the whole of the Old Chancellery! The Voss-strasse Chancellery was then to become the NSDAP headquarters building.



The twin electric chandeliers were also the personal creation of Speer. Sergeant Baker found them lowered and broken, the Grosser Empfangssaal but a pale shadow of its former self. (IWM)



provided a basic design, the glass was prepared by the Viennese glass-cutter Lobmeyr. The effect of the candle-like lamp-holders integrates with the glittering glass and the effect of these gigantic chandeliers in the light-coloured room leaves visitors and guests breathless. If this room gives such a splendid impression even in its present state, particularly when men in their uniforms are enlivening the picture, then we must await with special and justified eagerness the final layout of this room.

'Apart from the dominating impression conveyed by the large halls and salons, we must not forget that in the case of this building we are dealing with the creation and erection of working offices. In the west section are located the administrative offices itself with those of the Reichsminister Dr Lammers and his assistants. On the upper floor of the middle section are the offices of the departments of Reichsleiter Bouhler, while Staatsminister Dr Meissner, with his assistants, has taken over the east section, where the military adjutants also have their offices. Great attention was of course given to the furnishings and design of these offices.

'Each staircase, floor and room has been constructed and equipped with the same degree of care. There are no neglected points or corners in this great building. Everywhere beautiful German marble and limestone lends splendour and stone from all areas of Germany has been used. The marble has been found from the Lahn area, from the Bavarian forest, from Thuringia, from the Kelheim district, from the Jura, and, above all, from our Austrian province that we have regained. There one finds the Untersberg marble near Salzburg that has been utilised in the Vorhalle and from the Adnet neighbourhood came beautiful stone of all types. There the forest had long since overgrown the quarries which were reopened, and within a short time there were 300 men engaged in quarrying marble again, and the stonecutters were again able to make a living. It was the same situation in the Lahn area. There the stone-workers who had drifted away into other industries were brought back to the quarries to resume their skilled calling.

'We should also not forget what the high standard of design involved in the construc-



tion of this building meant for the resurrection of the German building industry and German craftsmanship. The fact was that the special abilities of our furniture-makers, weavers, skilled forges, mosaic-layers and glass-cutters were threatened with the slow extinction of the surviving masters of these crafts, since there no longer appeared to be any need for, or appreciation of, work of

such distinction. We have now reinstated German craftsmanship on a scale and over a field which could not previously have been imagined. Each of those involved has his special task which gave him scope for his own creations and designs. But above all, it was the architect who was responsible for all the details. Under his guidance, the artists and craftsmen formed a happy community.'

An important concept that Speer used in his choice of building design and materials was the 'ruin value'. In Hitler's grand concept for the new Germany, architecture was to form the 'bridge of tradition' to future generations. Buildings of modern construction using reinforced concrete, when in a state of decay, would never equal the impressive ruins of Greece or ancient Rome. Hitler agreed, and instructed that all the important buildings of his Reich were hereafter to be erected in keeping with Speer's principle of the 'law of ruins'. Unfortunately Speer's law failed to take account of the law of high explosives or the post-war Soviet drive to rid the earth of anything touched by Hitler's hand. Exactly fifty years after it was erected, the last vestiges of the New Reichs Chancellery have now been expunged.





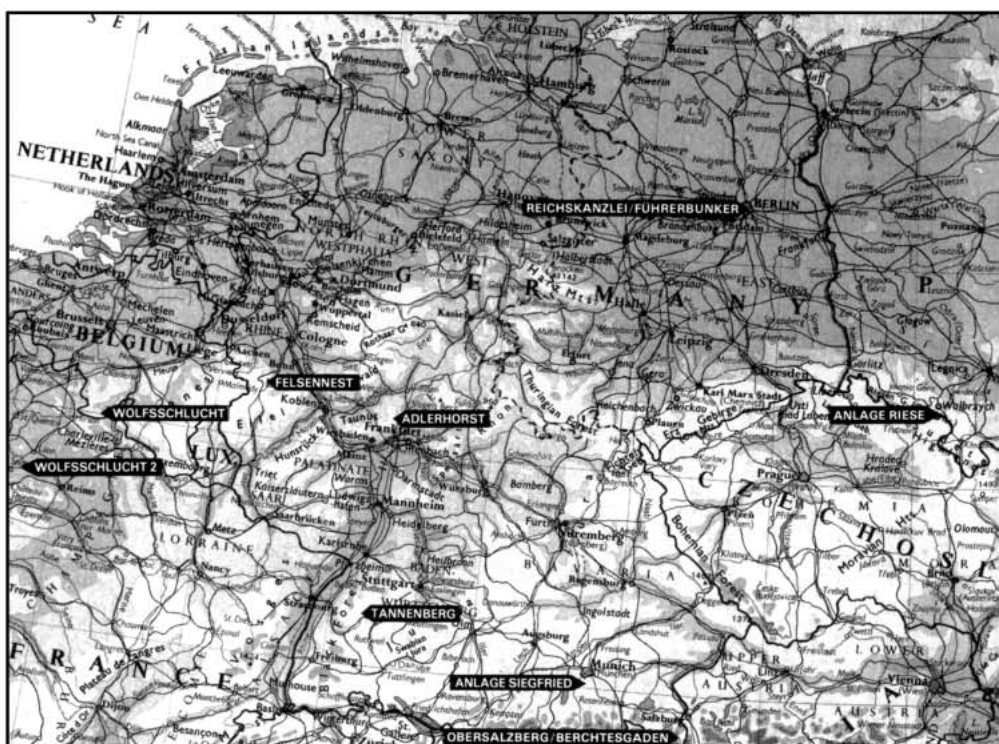




THE BERLIN FÜHRERBUNKER

In his book *Inside the Third Reich* Speer says little about the network of tunnels and air raid shelters which connected various parts of the Chancellery. By the end of the war there were some fifteen underground bunkers and hundreds of metres of tunnel. The first bunker was dug in the garden of the old Chancellery in 1936. Speer had also allowed for the cellars of the New Chancellery to double as shelters if required. At the beginning of the war another tunnel was built to connect this bunker with the new Chancellery, and others linked the old Chancellery with the Foreign Ministry and Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. By 1943 Berlin was experiencing increasingly heavy air raids and so the firm of Hochtief was called in to reinforce the original shelter. In 1944 the firm was recalled to build a new bunker, deeper than the first and with much stronger roof and walls. Although never completed this became the lower, or Führerbunker, which was connected to the old shelter, or Vorbunker, by a staircase. The two bunkers could be separated by a bulkhead and steel door which was permanently guarded by two sentries. The Vorbunker became a service area, with storerooms, kitchens, servants quarters, and a sixty-watt generator, about which more will be said later. Water was drawn directly into the bunker via an artesian well.

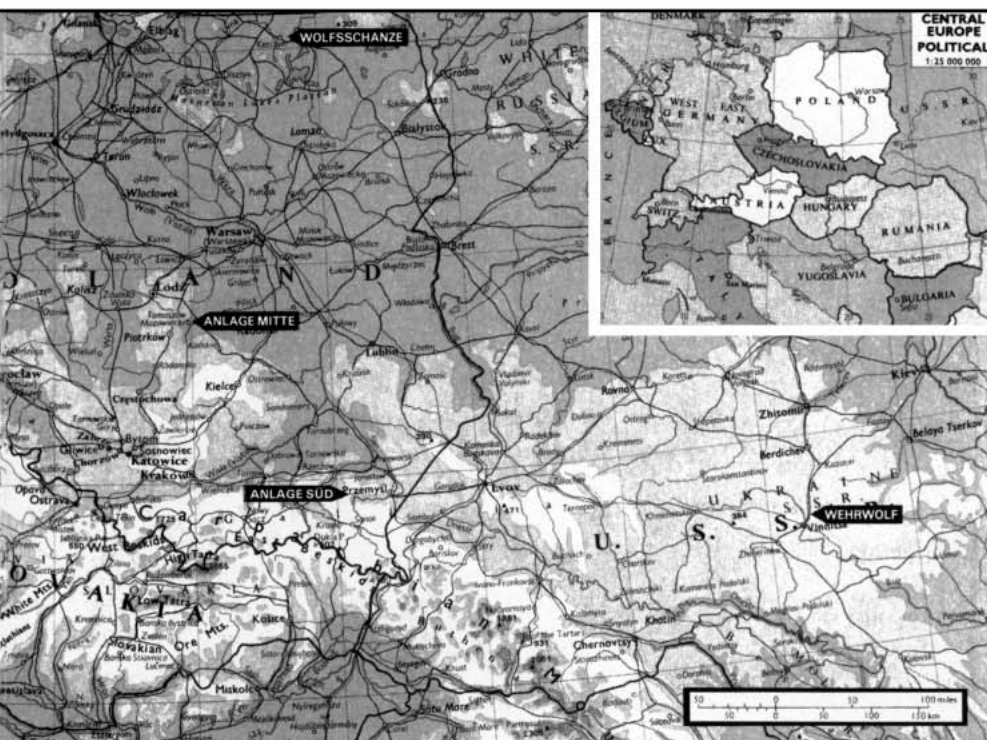
From 1941 Hitler spent little time in Berlin. In 1942 he was in Vinnitsa in the Ukraine and from late 1942 until November





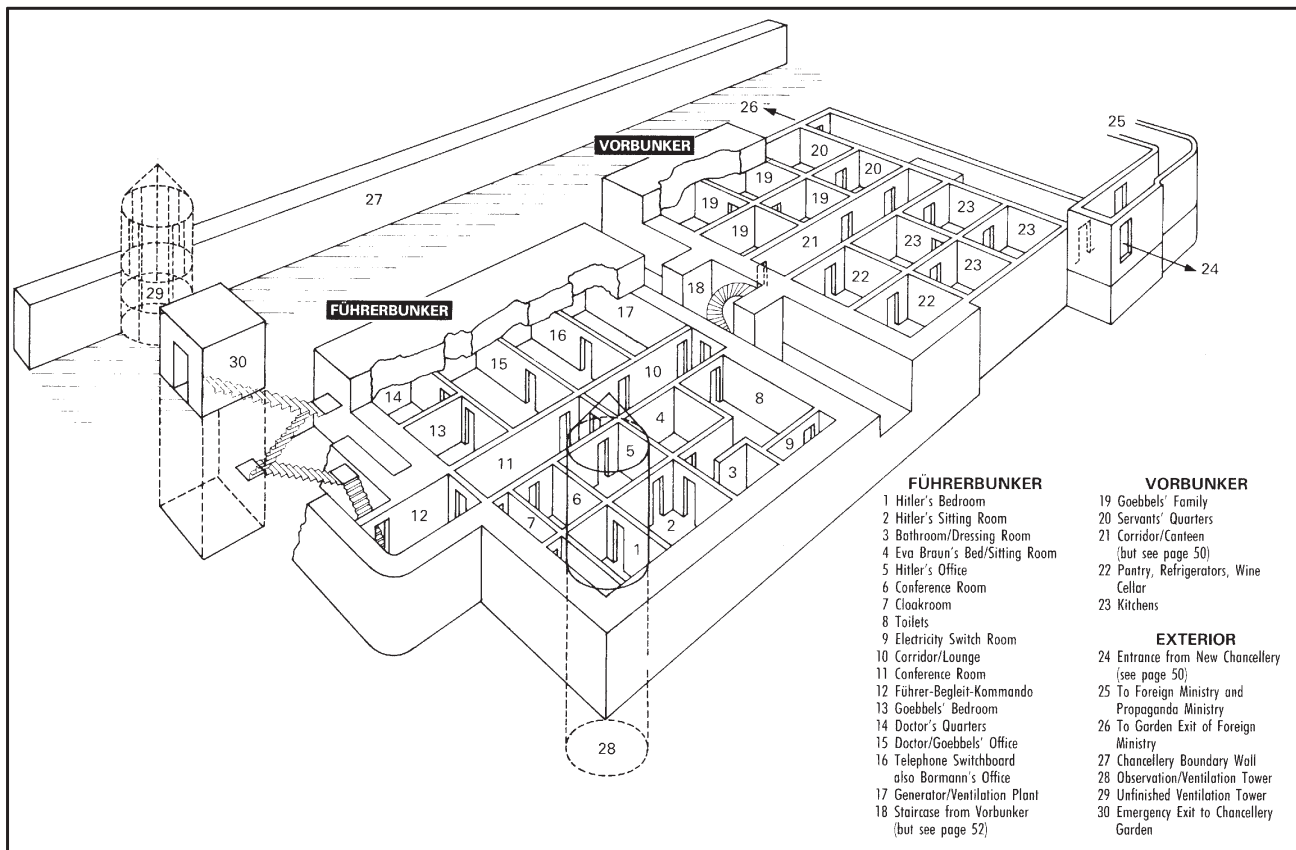
ER: THE THIRTEENTH HOLE

BY ANDREW MOLLO



1944 in Rastenburg in East Prussia (see *After the Battle No. 19*). When author of *The Berlin Bunker* James P. O'Donnell showed Albert Speer his list of twelve Führerhauptquartiere, Speer pointed out an omission — the huge complex, aptly named 'Giant', which had been built in Silesia at a cost of one hundred and fifty million Reichsmarks, but which had never been used. Thus the Berlin Bunker was the thirteenth and last Führer Headquarters.

December 1944 drew to a close with the failure of the Ardennes Offensive (see *After the Battle No. 4*), Hitler's last disastrous throw of the dice. German forces were in retreat, with no more reserves with which to stem the Allied advance. Even Berlin was in the Allies' grasp had they chosen the German capital as their main objective. On January 15, 1945, Hitler left 'Office 500' — the Führerhauptquartier near Bad Nauheim — and returned to Berlin. Until the middle of February he lived in his private quarters in the old Chancellery while conferences were held in the large study in the new. By the beginning of April Hitler was becoming increasingly disturbed by the air raids and found it difficult to work or sleep above ground and so he took up residence in the Bunker where he remained, apart from an occasional sortie, until his death on April 30, 1945.



In *After the Battle* No. 19 Dr R. Raiber detailed all the various Führerhauptquartiere, both actual and proposed, throughout Europe including those bunkers constructed for the OKW and other Reich leaders. One could put a case for almost thirty nerve centres from where Hitler might conceivably have conducted one particular phase or campaign, but it seems fitting that the last which he occupied was in Berlin itself —

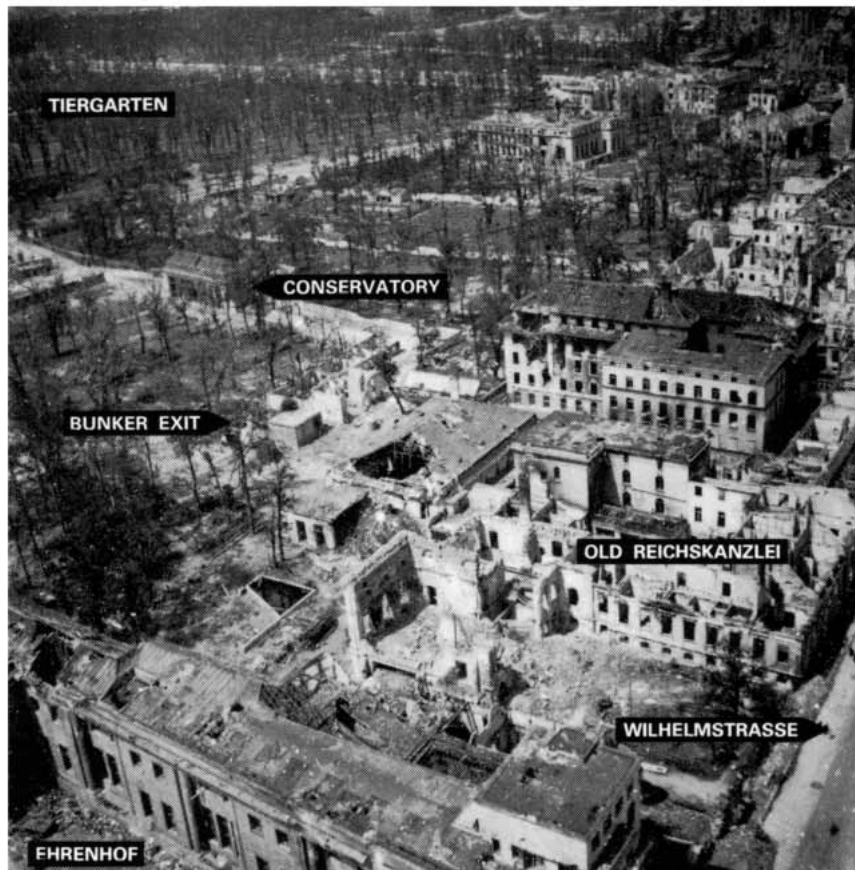
arguably the unlucky thirteenth — where he also met his end. The actual layout of the Führerbunker first appeared in *The Last Battle* by Cornelius Ryan in 1966. Over the years several stylised versions have appeared, all based on the same original, the one reproduced here being from *Die Sicherheit des Diktators* (1975) by Professor Peter Hoffmann, Dr Raiber's close colleague during his research into Hitler's FHQu, with our own annotations.



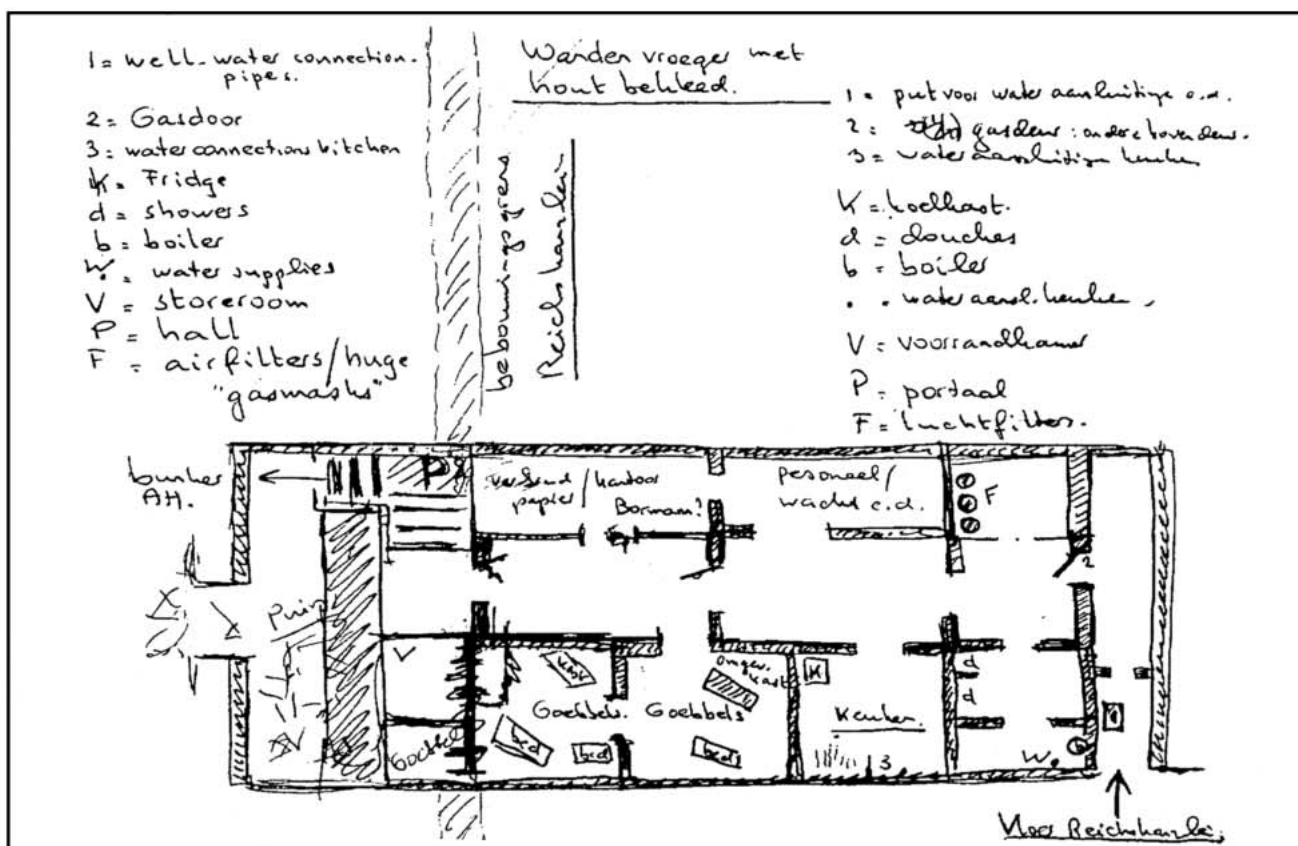
During his visit in April 1988 for *After the Battle*, Tom Posch entered the Vorbunker through the entrance marked '24'.

Carrying his most private papers and accompanied by his valet, Heinz Linge, Hitler left the Chancellery by the butler's pantry, descended a flight of stairs and walked along a 120-foot-long corridor which led to the Vorbunker. They then turned left down a corridor, through a reinforced door set in a bulkhead, down a staircase and through another door into the Führerbunker. They were now some 17 metres (55 feet) underground protected by walls of 2.2 metres (over 7 feet) and a ceiling 2.8 metres (9 feet) thick. In front of them was yet another door leading to a short red-carpeted corridor at the end of which, on the left, was the Führer's private suite of rooms consisting of a study, bedroom and bathroom. Another door led to Eva Braun's bed-sitting-room. All the rooms were painted pale grey and furnished with simple utility furniture. On the wall of Hitler's study there was Graff's portrait of Frederick the Great, a source of comfort and inspiration when all seemed bleak.

Apart from the six rooms set aside for Hitler's use there were nine others off the central corridor which doubled as a lounge and ante-room. On entering the Führerbunker there were two doors on the right leading to a power room and a telephone switchboard and one door on the left which was a lavatory. On passing through the door which divided the corridor into a lounge and conference room a door on the right led to Hitler's surgeon, Dr Ludwig Stumpfegger's, room and small surgery and another small bedroom which had at first belonged to Hitler's personal physician, Dr Theodor Morell, and after his departure to Dr Goebbels. On the left of the corridor a door led to Hitler's study and another to a small conference room. At the end of the corridor-cum-conference-room on the left were two cloakrooms.



This low-level oblique of the Chancellery in July 1945 shows the position of the emergency exit from the Führerbunker into the garden.



We searched in vain in German archives for original drawings of the bunker complex but none appear to have survived. Over the years the 'Ryan' plan opposite has become the 'accepted' plan, and it was only when we had the opportunity to inspect

the interior that we realised that the much-publicised version is incorrect in its portrayal of the layout of the Vorbunker. This is Tom Posch's sketch made on the spot — a nice authentic piece of bunker research.



To our knowledge this is the only picture published to date taken in the interior of the bunker complex before the surrender, obtained by American author John Toland for his *Pictorial Documentation of Hitler's Life* from Admiral Karl-Jesko von Puttkamer, Hitler's naval adjutant, who left the bunker on the night of April 22–23, 1945. It is described as being taken in the 'waiting room' — possibly room 10 on the plan.

In the Vorbunker above were further rooms, some of which had been set aside for Goebbels' wife and five children; others allocated for use by servants, the kitchen, including Hitler's personal diet kitchen run by Fraulein Constanze Manziarly, and a pantry, with refrigerators and wine cellar. (Compare plans, pages 30–31, for the actual layout determined in April 1988.)

There were two other closely-guarded entrances to the Bunker. There was direct access from the Foreign and Propaganda ministries at the east end and an emergency exit on the north-west side of the Führerbunker. This led out into the Chancellery garden, and since it was nearest to his quarters, Hitler used it until April 23 for his nocturnal strolls and for exercising his German shepherd dog Blondi. It was also from this exit that the bodies of Hitler and Eva Braun were removed from the Bunker and not far from here that they were burnt and then buried.

In the cellars of the new Chancellery were six large and a number of smaller shelters.

Under the east wing was the Adjutantur with the offices of Hitler's personal staff and the living accommodation of the forty or so people who made up his immediate entourage. In another part of the cellars, directly under the circular hall, was the command post of SS-Brigadeführer Wilhelm Mohnke from where, in his capacity as Citadel Commander, he conducted the defence of the Reich Chancellery with the thousand men of the Waffen-SS placed under his command. In another part of the Chancellery cellars Hitler had ordered the setting up of an emergency hospital to treat the casualties — both civilian and military — of Allied bombing and Soviet artillery fire. From April 16 the ground floor of the new Chancellery was used as a mess and mobile soup kitchens provided warm meals for the defenders.

Apart from the cramped living accommodation there were two main problems which made life underground even more uncomfortable and contributed to the atmosphere of isolation and unreality which permeated the Bunker in those last days of April 1945.

The new Chancellery, but not the Bunker, had a direct telephone line to the Central Army Telephone Exchange (Zentrale 500) which was probably the largest in all Europe. This was situated in a huge bunker at Zossen, fifteen miles due south of Berlin. In a tiny room in the Führerbunker, with space for only one operator, the firm of Siemens had installed a switchboard of the size found in a medium-sized hotel or in a divisional headquarters. Calls to Zentrale 500 were relayed via Zentrale 200 (a busy switchboard in the Flak Tower by the Zoo Railway Station). Next to the Bunker switchboard was an Army medium range radio transmitter. This totally inadequate communications system was frequently interrupted during the Battle of Berlin, which meant that much of the news reaching the Bunker was brought by courier.

A single diesel engine operated the ventilation system by pumping out the stale air and replacing it with fresh, but Hitler claimed that it contributed to the excessive air pressure in the Bunker and ordered that the pump should be turned off during briefings. When eventually they staggered out of the conference room the participants, including Hitler, complained of stuffiness and headaches. A contributory factor was the Field Hospital, which also had a totally inadequate ventilation system for the five to seven hundred casualties which were treated there. The same diesel engine not only pumped air out of the Bunker and into the hospital, but was also used from time to time by the Bunker handyman Johannes Hentschel to pump water to the medical facility.

Prompted by Hitler, Speer suggested that the problem of bad ventilation might be caused by a faulty air filter. Hentschel removed the old filter but it took a couple of days to find a replacement, during which time everyone in the Bunker was breathing unfiltered air. On his walks in the Chancellery garden Speer had noticed the opening of the Bunker air intake at ground level covered only by a simple metal grill. Disillusioned and sickened by the 'catastrophic policy' being pursued by Hitler and determined to save as much as he could from senseless destruction, Speer set about obtaining poison gas, but by the time he was in possession of a suitable substance Hitler had ordered the building of a ten-foot-high shaft which put the air intake out of casual reach. Speer was stunned: '... my first thought was that my plan had been dis-



More certain is the series of photographs taken after Berlin had fallen and the Führerbunker was captured. The pictures were taken on July 6. This is Eva Braun's bed-sit — No. 4 on the plan



— furnished with furniture Speer had designed for her and which had been brought down specially from her two rooms in the Chancellery. (Acme-British)

covered. But actually the whole thing was the operation of chance. Hitler temporarily blinded by poison gas during the First World War had ordered the building of the chimney because he knew that poison gas is heavier than air.'

Once Hitler had taken up residence in the Bunker it was only natural that the physical sense of isolation should further weaken his grip on reality. As the Red Army fought its way to the very heart of Berlin, the rest of Germany was being ground into rubble and ash. The Führer no longer dictated events, he simply reacted to one disaster after another — what would now be called 'fire brigade' management — while refusing to recognise that nothing could save Germany from annihilation.

Hitler left the Bunker on three occasions. On February 25 he attended a meeting of Gauleiters on the outskirts of Berlin. On March 15 he was driven in a Volkswagen Kübelwagen to an Army headquarters on the Oder Front. His last public, or rather semi-public appearance was on his last birthday. As Soviet soldiers reached the outskirts of Berlin, he emerged in the Chancellery garden to congratulate Hitler Youths who had been decorated for bravery with the Iron Cross 2nd Class.

Life in the Bunker soon became a tedious routine built around the Führer's awkward sleeping and working habits. While aides scurried back and forth, secretaries tapped away on typewriters (the type extra large, so that the Führer could read the letters and documents without using spectacles) and bored bodyguards, forbidden to smoke or talk in more than a whisper, passed the time worrying about their loved ones and the hopelessness of their predicament.

Between the situation briefings that continued until April 21, Hitler would wander listlessly around the Bunker or sit in a chair in the corridor-cum-briefing-room with one of Blondi's puppies on his knee, or he would take one last look at the model of the future city of Linz, the favourite of all his grandiose schemes to transform the Greater German Reich into the cultural centre of the world.



Hitler's bedroom (No. 1) above featuring the same unnamed Soviet senior NCO (wearing several wound stripes on his right chest) and below with Private Peter Saltz of Brooklyn, New York. The safe has been torched open by the Russians. (Acme-British)

On April 16 the Soviets launched the final offensive against Berlin from their bridge-heads on the Oder and Neisse rivers and by the 20th had reached the outskirts of Berlin. Assembled below ground in the Vorbunker were Göring, Himmler, Goebbels, Ribbentrop and Speer. They had all come from the tottering corners of the Third Reich to wish Hitler a happy birthday, but according to Speer 'Hitler's birthday was not actually celebrated. Most of his entourage avoided the embarrassment of a celebration by coming to the military situation briefing as usual.

No one knew what to say. Hitler received the expressions of good wishes coolly and almost unwillingly, in keeping with the circumstances'. Having failed to convince Hitler that he should leave Berlin they departed: Göring heading south to Bavaria, Himmler to an SS sanatorium near Berlin, and Speer to Hamburg to try and prevent Hitler's scorched earth policy being put into effect.

The next day Hitler entrusted SS-Obergruppenführer Felix Steiner, one of the Waffen-SS's most able generals and former commanding general of the 5th SS Panzer



The last photographs. April 20 was Hitler's 56th birthday and an informal inspection of men from the SS 'Frundsberg' Division, part of the Courland Army, took place in the Chancellery Garden. At the same time youngsters from the Hitler Jugend, who had been fighting at the front as part of the Volkssturm, were presented to Hitler by their leader, Reichsjugendführer Artur Axmann. Some boys who had distinguished themselves were decorated by Hitler, and these pictures have often been published as depicting that event. However in 1965 *Stern* magazine traced two of the boys pictured, Erwin Schweidewig, then a miner in Salzgitter, and Willi Hübner, a petrol pump attendant in Landshut. It was then discovered that instead of depicting the ceremony on April 20, the pictures were taken by Hitler's personal photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann, of a similar event which had taken place on **March 20**. Hoffmann actually includes the picture at the bottom left in his own book *Hitler was my Friend* captioned as 'one of my last photographs of the Führer' although without a date and reversed back to front.

Division 'Viking' with mounting an attack, with all available forces, on the Red Army besieging Berlin. Hitler pinned quite unrealistic hopes on this operation and its failure led to his decision to die in Berlin. As troops were withdrawn from other equally critical sectors of the front to take part in Steiner's offensive, the Soviets were able to break through the city's outer defences in the north. The relief operation dissolved into chaos and never got off the ground. By the time the briefing started at 3.00 p.m. on the 22nd, nothing had been heard of Steiner's offensive and Hitler was beside himself with fury, cursing everyone for their cowardice and treachery. The end had come, he announced, and he would remain and die in Berlin; a radio communiqué was prepared to broadcast his decision to the German people. As his fury abated Hitler appeared calmer than at any time during the last year. It was almost as if, having finally acknowledged Germany's defeat and having made the decision to take his own life, he was at last at peace with himself. He then began to sort through and burn his personal papers.

Meanwhile, in the south, Hitler's fateful decision had been reported to Göring (see *After the Battle No. 44*). After wrestling with the problem of what he should do now, Göring finally decided to wireless Hitler for confirmation that he was to take over as the Führer's named successor in accordance with a decree of June 1941. By the time the message had been conveyed to Hitler by Martin Bormann it had become evidence of



„Er sollte sehen, daß wir am Ende waren“
So erklärt Artur Axmann, damals 32 und Reichsjugendführer, warum er die Hitlerjungen von der Front weg zur Reichskanzlei gerufen und sie Hitler vorgeführt hatte. Axmann lebt heute als Kaufmann in Berlin



Ein Bericht von Jochen von Lang

Die Kinder kamen von der Ostfront in den Garten der Reichskanzlei. Hitler stieg aus der Tiefe seines Bunkers und sagte, er sei stolz auf sie. Dabei entstand das letzte Foto des Diktators. Wie er starb, weiß man. Was aber wurde aus den Kindern? STERN fand zwei von ihnen, die den Krieg überlebt haben

Heute vor 20 Jahren



„Schon verwundet, mein Junge?“

So fragte der Mann, der aus dem Bunker kam, den 17jährigen Erwin Scheidewig, dekoriert mit Eisernem Kreuz und Verwundetenabzeichen. Heute arbeitet Scheidewig im Bergbau von Salzgitter, ist verheiratet und hat acht Kinder

Beim letzten Aufgebot: Scheidewig und der kleine Hübner. Davor: Hitler, Axmann



'Already wounded, my boy?' said Hitler to the 17-year-old Erwin, pictured by *Stern* with his family 20 years later.



**„Brav, brav,
mein lieber Junge“**

Die oft gehörte Stimme sagte es zu dem 16jährigen Willi Hübner. Die Hand an seiner Wange zitterte. Hübner hatte sich bei den Kämpfen um die Oberlausitz ausgezeichnet. Heute lebt er in Landshut als Tankwart. Er ist verheiratet

**Auf den nächsten Seiten:
Wie sie das Chaos überlebten**

the foulest treachery. Hitler denounced Göring as corrupt, a drug addict and a failure, and at Bormann's suggestion dismissed the Reichsmarschall from all his offices and stripped him of the succession. Bormann went further, issuing orders for his arrest.

On the 24th Zhukov's 8th Guards and 1st Guard Tank Armies linked up south-east of Berlin with Koniev's 3rd Guards and 28th Armies and on the following day US and Red Army units met on the River Elbe at Torgau. On the 26th shells began to fall on the Chancellery complex.

A few days earlier, Reichsführer of the SS Heinrich Himmler had held discussions with Sweden's Count Bernadotte with a view to negotiating Germany's capitulation. When it became obvious that the talks were leading nowhere news of the meeting was leaked to the international press agency Reuters.

This was the day (the 26th) on which SS-Gruppenführer Hermann Fegelein, ex-jockey and Waffen-SS cavalry commander, Eva Braun's brother-in-law and Himmler's representative at the Führerhauptquartier, decided to desert his Führer. He waited for a quiet moment and slipped unnoticed out of the Bunker. The next day a routine inquiry by Hitler drew attention to his absence and an SS commando was sent to bring him back. He was found in civilian clothes in his apartment near the Kurfürstendamm and brought before Hitler. He was accused of desertion, stripped of his rank and placed under house arrest in his quarters in one of the bunkers under the Chancellery.

The following day (the 28th) Heinz Lorenz, a press officer in Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry, delivered a copy of the press release to the Führerbunker. On reading it, Hitler was beside himself with indignation. Himmler, 'der treue Heinrich', the faithful Heinrich, the one leader whose absolute loyalty he could always depend upon, had betrayed him — stabbed him in the back. That Himmler should have done such a thing was the unkindest cut of all. The reason for Fegelein's desertion now became obvious. He was party to Himmler's plot. Now he knew why Steiner's offensive had failed, because Himmler had never wanted it to succeed and had ordered Steiner not to move. Fegelein was interrogated by Heinrich Müller, head of the Gestapo, and admitted that he knew about Himmler's secret negotiations with Bernadotte. After a brief formality Fegelein was taken into the Chancellery garden and shot. After Hitler had issued orders for Himmler's arrest, the rest of that night was taken up with more personal matters: marriage to Eva Braun and the dictation of his last will and testament.

The marriage ceremony, which took place in the small conference room in the Führerbunker was conducted by Gauinspektor Walter Wagner, who appeared wearing the



A handshake from Goebbels for Willi Hubner in Breslau — in 1965 *Stern* showed him with his wife on the River Isar.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Name		Rank	Function	Fate
1. Axmann	Artur	Reichsjugendführer	Reich Youth Leader	PoW
2. Baur	Hans	SS-Gruppenführer	Hitler's Chief Pilot	PoW
3. Beermann	Helmut	SS-Hauptsturmführer	Member of RSD	
4. Beetz		SS-Standartenführer	Hitler's Deputy Chief Pilot	Missing
5. Below	Nicolaus von	Oberst im Generalstab	Hitler's Luftwaffe ADC	PoW
6. Boldt	Gerhard	Rittmeister	Hitler's Army ADC	PoW
7. Bormann	Martin	Reichsleiter/SS-Ogruf.	Hitler's Private Secretary	Suicide
8. Braun	Eva		Hitler's mistress/wife	Suicide
9. Burgdorf	Wilhelm	General d.Inf.	Chief Army Personnel Office	Suicide
10. Christian	Gerda		Hitler's Secretary	PoW
11. Fegelein	Hermann	SS-Gruppenführer	Himmler's Liaison Officer	Executed
12. Freytag von Loringhoven	Bernd	Major im Generalstab	Hitler's Orderly Officer	PoW
13. Goebbels	Josef	Reichsminister	Minister of Propaganda	Suicide
14. Goebbels	Magda		Wife of Reichsminister	Suicide
15. Günsche	Otto	SS-Sturmbannführer	Hitler's Waffen-SS ADC	PoW
16. Hagen	Kurt		Stenographer	
17. Hentschel	Johannes		Maintenance engineer	
18. Herrgesell	Gerhardt		Stenographer	
19. Hewel	Walter	Botschafter	Ribbentrop's liaison officer	Suicide
20. Hitler	Adolf		Reichskanzler	Suicide
21. Högl	Peter	SS-Standartenführer	Member of Hitler's bodyguard (RSD)	Killed
22. Johannmeyer	Willy	Major	Hitler's Army ADC	PoW



Axmann



Baur



von Below



Bormann



Burgdorf



Hitler and Eva Braun, Christmas 1938



Christian



Fegelein



Goebbels



Günsche



Johannmeyer



Junge



Kempka



Krüger



Linge



Misch



Magda Goebbels and children



Mohnke



Rattenhuber



Schaub

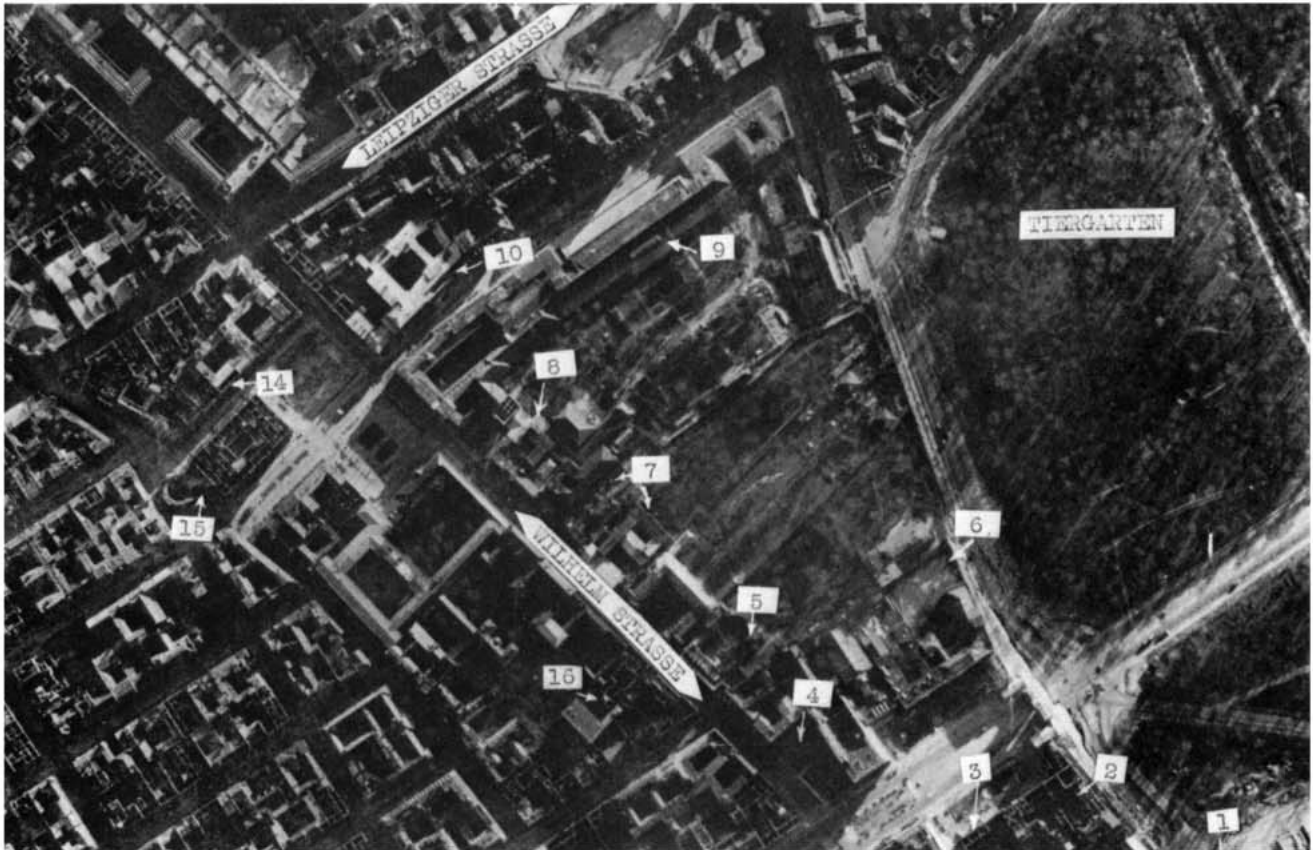


Stumpfegger



Weidling

23.	Junge	Gertrud	Secretary	PoW
24.	Karnau	Hermann	Member of RSD	
25.	Kempka	Erich	Hitler's chauffeur	PoW
26.	Krebs	Hans	Chief of General Staff Army	Suicide
27.	Krüger	Else	Secretary	PoW
28.	Linge	Heinz	Hitler's valet	PoW
29.	Lorenz	Heinz	Hitler's Mess Officer	PoW
30.	Manzialy	Constanze	Cook	Missing
31.	Mengershausen	Harry	Member of RSD	
32.	Misch	Rochus	Switchboard operator	PoW
33.	Mohnke	Wilhelm	Citadel Commandant	PoW
34.	Naumann	Werner	Goebbels' liaison officer	
35.	Olds		Goebbels' junior aide	
36.	Rattenhuber	Johann	Chief of Hitler's bodyguard (RSD)	PoW
37.	Reynitz		Stenographer	
38.	Schädle	Franz	Commander of Hitler's bodyguard (RSD)	PoW
39.	Schaub	Julius	Hitler's Personal Adjutant	
40.	Schwägermann	Günther	Goebbels' Adjutant	PoW
41.	Stumpfegger	Ludwig	Hitler's personal physician	Suicide
42.	Voss	Hans-Erich	Dönitz's liaison officer	PoW
43.	Weidling	Helmut	Commander of Fortress Berlin	PoW
44.	Weiss	Rudolf	Burgdorf's ADC	
45.	Wolf	Karl	Hitler's chief secretary	
46.	Zander	Wilhelm	Bormann's ADC	PoW



Up to November 1943 air attacks on Berlin had mainly struck the north-west, west, and south-western suburbs, leaving the heart around the Chancellery virtually untouched. *Above:* This picture was taken on March 8, 1944 with salient features indicated by Air Ministry photo interpreters: 2 Ministry of Armaments gutted; 3 French Embassy gutted; 4 British Embassy gutted; 5 Ministry of Food severely damaged by fire;

6 Dr Goebbels' private residence, top floors burned out, roof repaired; 7 Old President's Chancellery and Foreign Office both damaged by fire, considerable repairs to the former; 8 Old Chancellery damaged by fire, roof repaired; 9 New Reichs Chancellery, undamaged; 10 Ministry of Transport, mostly gutted; 14 Treasury, damage to roof; 15 Kaiserhof Hotel, top floors burned out; 16 Ministry of Fisheries, mostly gutted.



This oblique shows how the Vorbunker lay beneath the large hall behind the old Reichs Chancellery with the Führerbunker, constructed in 1944, under the garden itself. Twin towers with conical roofs to deflect bombs lay on either side of the bunker

exit although the one on the northern side had not been completed. These have been described as observation towers although it is believed that they also served as ventilation shafts.

On the 29th, as the couriers left the Bunker, news of Mussolini's ignoble end and the manner in which his body and that of his mistress had been strung up by the heels, in the Piazzale Loreto in Milan, was reported to Hitler (*see After the Battle No. 7*). During the day the balloon upon which radio-telephone communications between the Bunker and the outside world depended, was shot down, leaving the various adjutants and ADCs with no function left to perform, and so three of them, Major Bernd Freytag von Loringhoven, Rittmeister Gerhard Boldt and Oberstleutnant Rudolf Weiss, asked permission to leave the Bunker. Hitler was agreeable and ordered them to try and reach General Walter Wenck, of whose relieving forces there was still no news, and tell him to hurry as the Chancellery would soon be overrun. During the afternoon they left the Bunker. That night, with the Soviets reported in the Wilhelmstrasse, the final conference attended by Hitler, Goebbels, Bormann, Krebs, Burgdorf, Hewel, Voss, von Below and the city commandant, General Helmuth Weidling, took place. Weidling appealed to his Führer to allow the troops defending the city to break out through the Soviet lines to the west; it was now or never as tomorrow the Soviets were bound to reach the Chancellery. Hitler replied that such an undertaking was impossible. After the conference Hitler's Luftwaffe Adjutant, Nicolaus von Below, left the Bunker carrying with him a postscript to Hitler's testament for delivery to Feldmarschall Keitel at Plön in Schleswig-Holstein. Leaving at midnight on April 29/30, von Below overtook the other three adjutants at the Reichsportfeld and all four succeeded in avoiding the Soviets and escaping from Berlin but not from eventual capture by the Western Allies.

The morning of the 30th was spent by Hitler in preparation for his death. In the afternoon the efficacy of the poison available to Hitler and his staff was tested on Blondi. Having been found satisfactory he gave capsules to his two secretaries, apologising for the poorness of his parting present.

At 2.30 a.m. on the 31st the remaining members of Hitler's entourage, about twenty persons in all, were summoned to the Führerbunker and assembled in the general dining passage. Hitler appeared, accompanied by Bormann, and in silence walked down the line of faithful attendants, shaking each by the hand, before returning once again to his quarters. With that there was a great release of tension and a dance soon got



After months of increasing air attacks, and now under the threat of Russian artillery, Hitler's dream-child, Reichskanzlei, was crumbling around him like his empire. This is generally accepted to be the very last picture taken of the Führer — alive that is — with his faithful adjutant Julius Schaub.



Hitler told Speer when he returned to Berlin on April 23 for a final farewell: 'I shall not fight personally. There is always the danger that I would only be wounded and fall into the hands of the Russians alive. I don't want my enemies to disgrace my body either. I've given orders that I be cremated. Fraülein Braun wants to depart this life with me, and I'll shoot Blondi [his German shepherd dog] beforehand. Believe me, Speer, it is easy for me to end my life. A brief moment and I'm freed of everything, liberated from this painful existence.'



The inner room — the scene of the penultimate act. The Russians captured the Chancellery on May 2 but no photographs of the interior of the bunker are available prior to those taken by Fred Ramage after American forces entered Berlin at the beginning of July. By that time the sitting room was flooded to a depth of several inches as can be seen in the picture above where a Soviet soldier props his boots on a seat cushion from the sofa on which the suicides had taken place. An American soldier does likewise in the picture below.

underway in the Vorbunker canteen which continued feverishly despite a message from the Führerbunker to keep the noise down.

During the morning Bormann entrusted Hitler's SS adjutant, the 27-year-old Otto Günsche, with the preparations for the Führer's demise. Günsche met his Führer once more and found him calm. 'He told me that that he didn't want his body displayed in a Russian panopticon. He emphasised that it was my duty, whatever the circumstances, to see that this did not happen.' Günsche ordered the guards to collect their rations for the day as they would not be allowed to pass through the Führerbunker, and he told Erich Kempka to make available two hundred litres of petrol in the Chancellery garden. After lunch the Führer emerged once again and another farewell ceremony took place. Hitler and Eva Braun shook hands with Burgdorf, Krebs, Hewel, Naumann, Voss, Rattenhuber, Högl, Günsche, Linge, and the four women Christian, Junge, Krüger and Manziarly. Magda Goebbels, contemplating the imminent death by her own hand of her six children, found it difficult to appear in public, but her last request to meet Hitler in private was refused and so she remained in her room.

Hitler and his wife returned to their quarters and Günsche took up a position in front of the door to prevent anyone disturbing the couple. Minutes went by without any sound coming from behind the heavy door. When ten minutes had elapsed it was obvious that someone would have to enter and see what had happened. Eventually Heinz Linge opened the door and was assailed by strong fumes of acrid cordite and bitter almonds. 'I was trembling,' said Linge, 'and I simply did not have the gumption to go in there myself. It was too eerie.' Bormann was then summoned and led Linge, Günsche, Goebbels and Axmann back into Hitler's room where they found Hitler lying on the sofa with blood oozing in steady drips from his right temple. Eva was sitting upright by his side with her feet tucked up under her body. The room still smelt of cordite and bitter almonds. On the floor lay Hitler's 7.65mm

Walther pistol, while on an occasional table was his smaller calibre pistol, which for many years he had carried in a special trouser pocket, and a spare poison vial. For two minutes nobody said or did anything except Linge, who, always the perfect valet, picked up a vase which lay on the carpet, filled it with the fallen flowers and set it back on the table. Then the five stood to attention and raised their right arms in the Hitler salute. Günsche then summoned Dr Stumpfegger who examined the bodies and pronounced them dead.

Günsche then told Linge to move aside the two chairs and table so that he could spread out two army blankets on the floor. He then went off to summon three officers of Hitler's escort commando who were waiting nearby. Hitler's body was wrapped in a blanket and

carried head first up the stairs by Linge, assisted by the other officers, into the Chancellery garden. Following behind was Martin Bormann carrying the uncovered corpse of Eva Hitler, until he was relieved of his burden by Erich Kempka who was incensed by Bormann's mock solicitude towards someone he had loathed when alive.

Hitler weighed 12 stone (170 pounds) and it was quite a struggle to get his corpse up the narrow twisting stairs of the emergency exit and out into the fresh air. Having done so, the three officers then carried the corpse to a narrow trench about ten metres from the bunker exit in the midst of what was in effect a building site, as work on building a second ventilation tower had still not been completed. A few minutes later Eva Hitler's body was laid next to that of her husband. Two officers then emptied several jerricans full of petrol over the bodies and then dodged back under the protective shelter of the Bunker exit, as Soviet shells were falling all around. Then from the doorway matches were thrown in an attempt to ignite the funeral pyre but the wind was too strong. Linge then lit a taper and handed it to Bormann who threw it into the shallow grave. The first attempt failed but the second succeeded and the bodies burst into flames. One last salute and then the participants went back inside, where, Frau Christian recalled, 'the Bunker tension, which had been all but unbearable for the last fortnight, relaxed, at least for a few hours. At the same time we all knew that the Russians were still moving towards us. We knew that the breakout, when and if it ever came off, would be a rough experience.'

Now that Hitler was dead the drama transferred itself from the lower, or Führerbunker, to the upper, or Vorbunker, where preparations were under way for the last act in the drama — the deaths of the Goebbels family and the breakout by those members of Hitler's entourage who had not chosen suicide. At about 5.00 p.m. Magda Goebbels prepared her six children for bed in the lower bunker and then led them up the staircase to the upper bunker where the children were each given a drugged chocolate and put to bed. When they were asleep their mother administered poison to each of them, while the two SS doctors, Stumpfegger and Kunz, stood by in an adjoining room. An hour or so later Arthur Axmann found the Goebbels sitting at the long conference table with Werner Naumann, Hans Baur, Walther Hewel, General Krebs and three or four others. While Goebbels launched into lively



reminiscences of the early days of the rise of Nazism, Magda Goebbels sat silently sipping champagne and smoking. The discourse ended about an hour later and Goebbels went for a walk in the Chancellery garden. At about 8.15 p.m. Goebbels returned to his quarters in the Vorbunker and then together with his wife descended once more to the Führerbunker where they found Mohnke, Schwägermann and Olds. As he handed his signed photograph of Hitler to Günther Schwägermann, he said, 'at least you good people will not have to carry our bodies up that long flight of stairs'. According to Mohnke 'he donned his hat, his scarf, his long uniform overcoat. Slowly he drew on his kid gloves, making each finger snug. Then, like a cavalier, he offered his right arm to his wife. They were wordless now, so were we three spectators. Slowly but steadily, leaning a bit on each other, they headed up the stairs to the courtyard.' At the top of the stairs the couple passed six jerricans and an officer of the Führerbegleitkommando who was the only witness to the suicides that followed. Magda bit into her capsule and fell to the ground. Goebbels fired a bullet into the back of her head. He then straightened up, bit on a capsule and fired into his right temple. The FBK officer and Schwägermann then poured petrol over the bodies and set them alight. When the Soviets found the bodies, that of Goebbels was only superficially burnt and still quite recognisable.

There were now about eight hundred unwounded troops left in the Reich Chancellery. About seven hundred were members of the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler and eighty or so were members of Johann Rattenhuber's Führerbegleitkommando. Fewer than twenty members of Hitler's personal court remained in the Bunker. Mohnke then worked out the details of the breakout, dividing the survivors into ten groups and giving each of them a departure time and route. Generals Krebs and Burgdorf had



Hitler's sitting room was still very much the same when Sergeant Eugene Kammerman of the US Signal Corps pictured Sergeant Ernie Pappas of the 2nd Armored Division searching for souvenirs three months later. The coat hangers have been taken from Hitler's bedroom — see page 33. He has also found a rather large bunch of keys.

decided to remain in the Bunker and commit suicide. General Weidling agreed that he would not sign any capitulation before day-break on Wednesday, May 2, which would give the breakout parties five hours of darkness to effect their escape. At 11.00 p.m. the first group, led by Mohnke and numbering twenty people including the four secretaries, clambered out the basement

garage into the Wilhelmstrasse directly under the balcony of the old Chancellery which had been built by Albert Speer at Hitler's request in 1934. Ninety per cent of those who escaped the bunker survived, and of their number ninety per cent were taken prisoner by the Soviets. A similar percentage returned after ten years of captivity to start life again in post-war Germany.

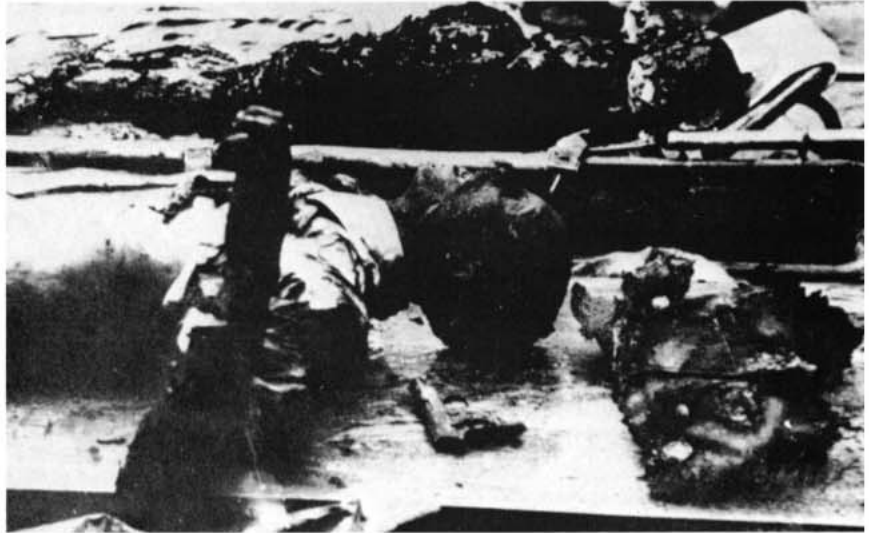


The last act — the Viking funeral — was carried out in the garden a few yards from the bunker exit. This picture was taken on July 5 as the newly-arrived British and American troops poke around to see what they can find. However Soviet forces

had had Berlin to themselves for two months and, by and large, anything worthwhile had gone. Yet surprisingly, Hitler's diary lay down the side of his chair for a further two months until it was discovered by an inquisitive British visitor. (IWM)



In their quest for Hitler or his body, the Soviet search party was led by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Klimenko, Commander of the Counter Intelligence Section (Smersh) of the 79th Rifle Corps which had taken over Plötzensee Prison as its headquarters. He arrived at the Chancellery with three other officers and five



soldiers on the afternoon of May 2. In the garden, just outside the emergency exit, they found two charred corpses which were recognised as being Goebbels and his wife. They were carried on doors to a covered truck and taken to Plötzensee to be formally identified and photographed (above). (Sovfoto)

The Soviet High Command had no idea of Hitler's whereabouts until press reports of his 56th birthday celebrations had become available. These reports described his meeting with members of the Hitler Youth in the Chancellery garden, but indicated that there was no certainty that he would remain in Berlin. Early on the morning of May 1 the Soviet commander of the 1st Byelorussian Front, General Zhukov, was in possession of a letter from Bormann and Goebbels, delivered by Krebs, that informed him of Hitler's death and requested a cease-fire, to which Krebs had brought back a refusal. On the afternoon of May 2, Lieutenant-Colonel Klimenko received orders to search the Reich Chancellery, which had fallen the previous night to troops of the 5th Shock Army. When Klimenko arrived in the Chancellery gardens he was immediately shown the corpses of Goebbels and his wife; later, inside the Bunker, the bodies of General Krebs and the six Goebbels children. These bodies were quickly identified by Admiral Voss and other witnesses. A further search



The next day the bodies of the six Goebbels children were found in the Vorbunker and also that of General Krebs. All were taken to Plötzensee. (Sovfoto)



Having interrogated Vice Admiral Voss who had been captured by the Smersh section of the 3rd Shock Army, and having been told that Hitler had committed suicide and that his body had been burned in the garden, Klimenko returned with Voss to the Chancellery later that evening. Several bodies were found in what has hitherto been described as 'an emergency water tank' — in reality the ornamental pool below Hitler's office. One



corpse looked very much like Hitler although Voss could not be certain and Klimenko was suspicious because the feet had darned socks on. Leaving the body where it was, Klimenko returned to Plötzensee to see if any Germans had been rounded up who might be able to assist in the identification. These two contrasting views of the pool, with and without Josef Thorak's sculpture, were taken in 1939 and 1946.



Having assembled six possible witnesses, Klimentyev returned next morning (4th) but the corpse had vanished. It was discovered inside the Chancellery, having been moved there by members of the 5th Shock Army who had responsibility for the building. Although five of the witnesses categorically denied it was Hitler, it had sufficient facial resemblance to be filmed in the Ehrenhof including one shot beside the fallen eagle.



A still from the film was released in December 1964, the *Daily Mail* for one swallowing the story hook, line and sinker. According to the *Mail*, the picture 'shows Adolf Hitler after he had committed suicide lying on a Chipendale couch in his office with a picture of his mother in one hand' and was 'taken by one of his bodyguards before the body was burned, and confiscated by the Russians'.

of the gardens on May 4 uncovered human remains in a shallow grave near one of the Bunker exits but their significance was not appreciated and they were reburied.

An earlier search had revealed a clothed body lying in the garden pool which bore a superficial resemblance to Hitler. At first Admiral Voss identified this as Hitler but soon had second thoughts. The corpse was found to be wearing darned socks and it was conclusively rejected by a member of the Soviet diplomatic corps who had met Hitler before the war. Therefore it was decided to disinter the two bodies which had been found near the Bunker exit, and in so doing the bodies of two dogs were found in the same grave. These remains were wrapped in blankets, put in wooden boxes and taken by the Soviets to the hospital at Buch.

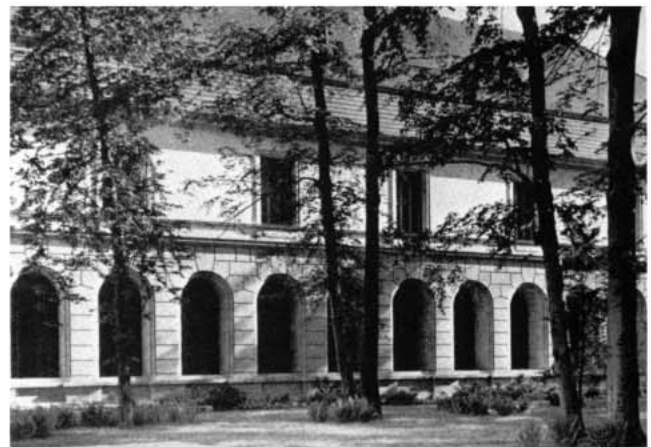
Meanwhile Harry Mengershausen, a member of Hitler's Bodyguard Regiment, who had witnessed the burning of Hitler and his wife, had been taken prisoner. He gave his captors a detailed description of the event and mentioned others who had participated in the burning and the burial. He also led the Soviet investigating team to the now-empty grave. The Soviets sought further confirmation of the identity of the male corpse by confronting Fraülein Heusemann, a dental



The identity of the mystery 'Hitler' has never been solved.



Harry Mengershausen, a member of the Reichs-Sicherheits-Dienst, told the Russians that he had witnessed the burning and burial of the bodies of Hitler and Eva Braun from the end window of the blue dining room which looked directly onto the garden beyond the arched cloister which ran along outside the windows. However, it was only after he was released from



imprisonment in the Soviet Union in 1955 that Mengershausen admitted that it was he who had actually dug the grave with a colleague in the RSD called Glanzer (subsequently killed). They had dug a three-foot hole a few yards from where the bodies had been partly cremated in the trench and buried the remains on wooden boards.

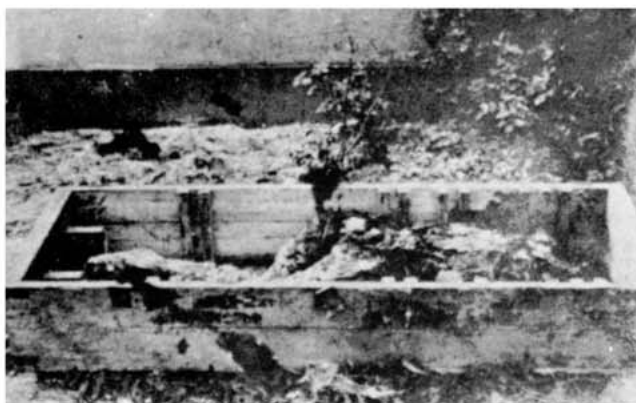
assistant, with a box containing a number of dental fittings, an Iron Cross 1st Class and a Golden Honour Badge of the NSDAP. Being very familiar with Hitler's teeth she was not only able to identify them as his, but also led the Soviets to Hitler's dental records which remained undisturbed in the Chancellery laboratory.

At a Press Conference on June 9, Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet commanding general, revealed that they had found 'several bodies that might be Hitler's' but added that 'we cannot state that he is dead'. He also stated that Hitler had married an Eva Braun before his death — a startling piece of news, even in Germany. When in September the Russians accused the British of harbouring both Hitler and Eva Braun in their zone, Hugh Trevor-Roper was appointed by MI5 to try to establish the true facts although hampered by the non-access to crucial witnesses held in Russia. His conclusions were published in *The Last Days of Hitler* in 1947.

The findings of the Soviet autopsy commission were finally published in a book for Western consumption in 1968. According to their report they found splinters of glass, parts of the wall and bottom of a thin-walled ampoule in his mouth and noticed a marked smell of bitter almonds emanating from the bodies. They concluded that death was caused by poisoning with cyanide compounds and this has been the official Russian version of Hitler's death since 1949.



While awaiting identification of the Hitler recovered from the pool, Klimenko returned to the garden with his men. Examining a crater near the spot where Goebbels had been found, Private Ivan Churakov suddenly spotted legs protruding from the sandy soil. Digging further, two badly-burned corpses were uncovered, but, because Klimenko believed that the real Hitler was lying in the Chancellery, he had his men rebury the bodies. When the body inside was positively rejected as being Hitler, Klimenko decided to have the second two bodies disinterred. Early on May 5 he returned. Soldiers Deryabin and Tsybochkin did the digging *above* and the two corpses were recovered together with the bodies of two dogs. (Sovfoto)



Having been placed in two wooden packing crates, the remains of Hitler (*left*) and Eva Braun (*right*) were taken to the



headquarters of the 3rd Shock Army located at the hospital in the northern suburb of Buch. (Sovfoto)

Berlin surrendered to the Russian army on May 2. Of the 1½ million dwellings in the city, more than three-quarters were no longer habitable, a large proportion totally destroyed, the whole city in ruins from Allied bombing and the final battle for its capture. The official surrender ceremony in the city took place on May 8 (see *After the Battle* No. 48), amid considerable protocol problems between the four Allies, at the Soviet High Command headquarters in Karlshorst in the eastern part of the city.

The actual division of Germany and Berlin had been first outlined by a British Cabinet Committee, meeting under the chairmanship of the Deputy Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, early in 1943. Although the war in Europe was then still pretty much a Russian affair, Attlee's proposals were that the Soviets should occupy the provinces of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Saxony, Silesia and East Prussia — some 40 per cent of the area of pre-1937 Germany, with 36 per cent of her population and containing 33 per cent of productive resources. The United States would take Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Hesse and the Rheinisch Palatinat in the south, while Great Britain would occupy the north-western part of Germany comprising the state of Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia. The Attlee committee



On May 8 a team of pathologists led by Dr Faust Shkaravski of the 1st Byelorussian Front Medical Service and Professor Dr Nikolai Krayevski, Chief Anatomical Pathologist of the Red Army Medical Service assembled in the mortuary of Buch hospital. The work of the Commission was simplest with the unburned bodies of the Goebbels children and General Krebs (*above*) who were all adjudged to have died by cyanide poison. (Sovfoto)

recommended that Berlin, which geographically would fall in the Soviet zone, should be jointly occupied by the three Allies as a symbol of unity.

The Tehran Conference in November 1943 broadly endorsed the Attlee proposals and it was decided that the subject should be put on the agenda of the European Advisory Committee which had been created by the Allied Foreign Ministers at their meeting in Moscow the previous month.

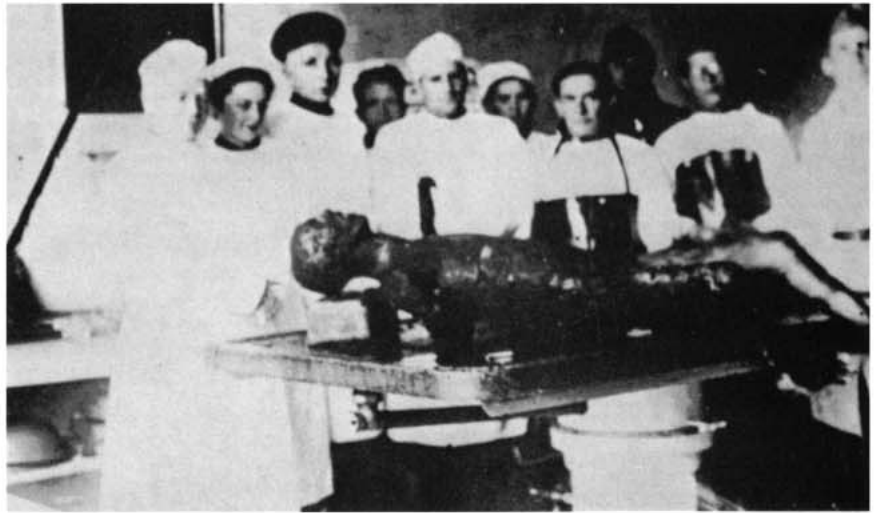
In February 1944 the Russians proposed 'a 10 to 15 kilometre zone' around Berlin for joint occupation and virtually accepted without question the original British proposals which were endorsed on September 12, 1944 in the 'Protocol on Zones of Occupation':

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have reached the following agreement . . .

1. Germany, within her frontiers as they were on the 31st December, 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into three zones, one of which will be allotted to each of the three Powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the three Powers.

2. The Boundaries of the three zones and of the Berlin area, and the allocation of three zones as between the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R. will be as follows:

The Berlin area (by which expression is understood the territory of "Greater Berlin" as defined by the Law of the 27th April, 1920)



The corpses of Goebbels (above) and his wife were badly charred yet the Commission still found splinters of a glass ampoule between the teeth and chemical analysis established the presence of cyanide in the internal organs. There was no mention of gunshot wounds. At the end of May the remains were taken to a wood near Finow, some 40 km to the north, where they were shown to Mengershausen who had been taken to the spot by car. The corpses of Goebbels, Frau Goebbels and Hitler were lying in wooden crates in a clearing. Having positively identified each, he was returned to his prison. According to Captain Fjedor Vassilki, a Smersh officer, it appears that the bodies were taken to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1945 but brought back to Berlin the following year when the Russians made a film re-creation of Hitler's death using actual participants temporarily flown to Berlin from their Russian prison camps. The Germans themselves, however, never saw the body again. (Sovfoto)



The text of the seven-page autopsy report on Hitler was released to the West in 1968. During the post-mortem, the jaw was removed complete with the teeth and an associated dental bridge which was subsequently identified by Hitler's dentist's assistant, Fräulein Käthe Heusermann, as belonging to Hitler. Cyanide compounds were detected in the internal organs and fragments of glass in the mouth indicated death by poisoning. Much has since been made of the fact that no direct evidence was offered in the report of bullet wounds to the head, conflicting with descriptions by bunker survivors who state that Hitler shot himself. The autopsy noted that part of the

cranium was missing and that the right side of the head — the side through which Hitler is supposed to have shot himself — was more badly burned. Other commentators on Hitler's suicide find the omission of gunshot evidence, or the description of it, suspicious and believe its suppression by the Russians was deliberate in order to discredit the manner of Hitler's death assuming, one supposes, that it is more cowardly and less soldierly to take poison than a bullet. In the picture above a Soviet officer points to the spot just to the right of the exit where the bodies were burned. The dining room windows can be seen behind. (Camera Press)

will be jointly occupied by armed forces of the U.S.A., U.K., and U.S.S.R., assigned by the respective Commanders-in-Chief. For this purpose the territory of 'Greater Berlin' will be divided into the following three parts:-

North-Eastern part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Pankow, Prenzlauerberg, Mitte, Weissensee, Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg, Treptow, Köpenick) will be occupied by the forces of the U.S.S.R.:

North-Western part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Reinickendorf, Wedding, Tiergarten, Charlottenburg, Spandau, Wilmersdorf) will be occupied by the forces of _____:

Southern part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Zehlendorf, Steglitz, Schöneberg, Kreuzberg, Tempelhof, Neukölln) will be occupied by the forces of _____:

The actual zones to be occupied by the Western Allies were left blank but it ensured that both Britain and the United States would have six boroughs to the Russian eight.

At the Yalta conference in February 1945 Stalin stated that he had no objection to French participation in the occupation of Germany provided their zone was carved out of those allocated to the Western Allies. In Western Germany the French Section was established by the British giving up the Rheinisch Palatinate and the Saar, and the Americans part of Baden-Württemberg, but the United States insisted that as far as Berlin was concerned, all three powers should donate territory. This the Russians flatly refused and the impasse was only broken on July 26 — nearly two months after the end of the war — when Britain agreed to give up the boroughs of Reinickendorf and Wedding.

The zones as drawn left the Reich Chancellery area just inside the Soviet zone when the official four-power occupation regime officially got under way in August. However there was little problem of access for Allied troops between zones as General Eisenhower has recorded that this early period 'held nothing but bright promise for the establishment of cordial and close relations with the Russians'. A visit to the ruined Chancellery and Bunker was the high spot of any tour of the city by ordinary soldiers or politicians as Winston Churchill has described:



'On July 16 both the President [Truman] and I made separate tours of Berlin. The city was nothing but a chaos of ruins. No notice had of course been given of our visit and the streets had only the ordinary passers-by. In the square in front of the Chancellery there was however a considerable crowd. When I got out of the car and walked about among them, except for one old man who shook his head disapprovingly, they all began to cheer. My hate had died with their surrender and I was much moved by their demonstrations,

and also by their haggard looks and threadbare clothes. Then we entered the Chancellery, and for quite a long time walked through its shattered galleries and halls. Our Russian guides then took us to Hitler's air-raid shelter. I went down to the bottom and saw the room in which he and his mistress had committed suicide, and when we came up again they showed us the place where his body had been burned. We were given the best first-hand accounts available at that time of what had happened in these final scenes.'



The emergency exit lay directly in line with the west wing of Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda which still stands on Wilhelmstrasse — now renamed Otto-Grotewohl-strasse in

honour of the chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Berlin in 1946 and later Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic. This is the view over the bunker roof in April 1988.

A little more descriptive account of what the bunker was like at the time was given by James O'Donnell in his book 'The Berlin Bunker'. At the end of June 'Newsweek' magazine had secured early release for him and he began as their bureau chief in Germany on July 1. Three days later his first assignment was to go to Berlin and reconstruct the last day in Hitler's life. It is also illuminating to realise that at that date the world had then only known of his mistress for a few weeks, as the New York Foreign Editor, revealed in his cable: 'Who was Eva Braun?'

On July 4, O'Donnell landed in Berlin at Tempelhof:

'To get from the airport to the Reich Chancellery area as rapidly as possible', wrote O'Donnell, 'I flagged down a passing jeep. Two paratroopers from General Gavin's 82nd Airborne Division volunteered to take me to the Brandenburg Gate "if I could show them where it was". On that day, we could have made the three-mile trip faster in a Sherman tank or a bulldozer. We were soon lost in the labyrinth of rubble, winding our way along the only arterial street cleared for vehicular traffic. It was mid-morning; the sun was shining.

'To my surprise the scene at the battered Gate was a lively, even colourful spectacle. Black marketeers selling currency and cigarettes mingled with the lean and hungry Berliner housewives. A motley display of Allied uniforms showed that the quadripartite experiment, at least at grass-roots level, seemed to be working splendidly. American GIs were swapping Mickey Mouse watches for sundry souvenirs. One Russian infantryman already had twelve such watches, strapped from his wrist to his elbow. Back home, he said, he could sell them for enough to buy that one milch cow he was allowed on his pre-war collective.

'I left the jeep and walked over to the Reichstag, nearby. Here a steady flow of Russian officers, in groups of twelve to twenty, were visiting the ruin of this stolid parliament building, gutted by fire in 1933, stormed by the Russians on April 30, 1945. These husky combat veterans had come to conquered Berlin from the German provinces. Now, like skilled acrobats, many were standing, shoeless, on each other's shoulders. They were inscribing in Cyrillic letters their names, ranks, units and other graffiti on the tall, chipped Corinthian columns. Thousands of their comrades had obviously preceded them. The Reichstag had become, in the Russian mind, the political symbol of their military conquest of Berlin.

'I moved off quickly, heading down the Wilhelmstrasse, passing ruined embassies, towards the Reich Chancellery some five blocks away. I rather expected to meet up with another large crowd, but the area was a wasteland. I met several German strollers and a few Russians, all, however, heading towards the Brandenburg Gate. One Russian was helping Berlin youngsters cut steaks from a dead horse.

'In the long Parian marble halls of the New Reich Chancellery itself, most of which, to my surprise, was still defiantly standing, I met perhaps a dozen uniformed soldiers, Russian, British, American — and one Frenchman, a liaison officer. Nobody seemed to know for sure just where the already half-legendary Führerbunker was. In our imaginations, perhaps, we were all looking for the Pyramids.

'I went outside into the Chancellery garden which looked as if it had been churned up by giant moles. What had once been trees were now blasted, uprooted stumps. The rusty tail of a dud bomb poked up from a crater. I trod warily. In a far corner of the garden, I came across a rectangular, tawny-coloured cement block, perhaps twenty feet high, with a narrow oblong entrance and indented vestibule. This was the obscure entry to the Bunker, yet it resembled nothing so much as



Two of the best pictures for showing the details of the exit and the uncompleted ventilation shaft were taken in 1947 shortly before they were blown up. Above: On April 20 a party of American businessmen visited the bunker during their tour of the occupation zones — a good angle as we see that the burning trench has now been filled in and smoothed over. (US Signal Corps)



A month later Captain Robert E. Baden showed American newspapermen 'where the charred body of Dr Goebbels was found'. However, according to Soviet evidence, Goebbels was found more or less centrally in front of the doorway about 15 feet out and in fact this picture shows Hitler's grave excavated by the Russians on May 5. Compare with the picture at the top of page 44. (US Signal Corps)



an old weathered pillbox in the Maginot or the Siegfried Line. A single Russian soldier, armed but pleasant enough, stood on sentry duty. At first I feared he might have orders to turn sightseers away. No, he simply wanted to show me a snapshot of his Natasha far away, back in Russia. He was only a private first class, but he was proudly wearing his Stalin-grad medal. I saluted him in the name of the common victory, and offered him a pack of Camels. He accepted and in return handed me a yellow kerosene lantern.

I knew, however, that Russian soldiers were seldom on duty alone. Sure enough, at the bottom of the staircase I met his chum, a corporal. He had set up quarters in a room where the walls and ceiling were charred, the floor smeared with grey ash, and the blue-Frisian-tile wall-panelling sooted up. (He may not have known it, nor did I at the time, but this was Hitler's study.) His submachine gun lay on the table, but he flourished a long-barrelled .22 calibre German target-pistol. He was not quite so friendly as the first sentry but another pack of cigarettes, my last, and the premises were open for inspection.

'At first I thought I was alone; it was spooky and dark until I lit my lantern. Soon I came upon three Russian officers who were moving about silently with pocket flashlights. A few minutes later, we were all startled when a shot rang out. The corporal had winged one of the rats, some as fat as groundhogs, which scooted and slithered up and down the one long room, the main corridor. They had gnawed away much of the waterlogged red carpeting.

Worse than the darkness and the dankness was the odour. The ventilation system had

On December 11, 1947, Russian engineers began to demolish the bunker although Western photographers were refused permission to picture the actual explosions. Other charges were laid in the bunker itself to try to bring down the roof but these efforts were only partially successful. (Associated Press)

long since been closed down, but from the sickening sweetness of the stench coming from it, I guessed that a rat must have got trapped inside and died. The untended latrines, although still in use, were clogged. There had been suicides down here, but the smell was not the sweet-sour smell of decaying human flesh; it was the distinctive malodour of the rubble of war. I wondered how the Russian soldier downstairs could hold out in this Stygian atmosphere. I soon noted how the problem was solved; the two sentries rotated duty every fifteen minutes.

At some time or other, either a pipe or the emergency red-rubber garden hose had burst, for a shallow, stagnant pool lay at the far end of the central corridor — some three or four inches of muck and slime. I had to slosh through it to get to the farther reaches of the Bunker. Then I came to a large steel bank-vault door which opened onto an iron spiral staircase leading to what — as I was later to learn — was called the Vorbunker, the upper Bunker.

I was wary. I still had that former soldier's instinct not to pick up any stray bric-à-brac or harmless-looking souvenirs in case they were booby-trapped. The Germans were cunning about such matters, and this had only recently been a military headquarters. However, trudging back through the water, I kicked up

by accident what appeared to be a large map. I did pick this up and, wiping away the dripping green slick, found it was a large parchment in faded purple, a blueprint of a city plan. By lantern light I noticed it was not in fact a map of Berlin, for the Danube flowed through this city. In the caption in the corner I read Grosslinz. This was an architect's sketch for the postwar remodelling and enlarging of the Austrian city of 'Greater Linz'. I let the map and the matter drop. My mind, at that moment, was on other things.

I had now been underground perhaps twenty minutes. I noticed that one of the visiting Red Army officers, less booby-trap-conscious than I, had donned an old German gas mask. That had solved for him the problem of the smell. As he left, he handed the mask to me. I, too, had been about to flee up those steep concrete stairs gasping for fresh air. Now I could move about, room by room. I counted more than thirty cubicles, and was astonished by how cramped they were — three by four metres, at most; many even smaller.

Obviously the original German occupants had fled in a hurry, for they had left behind a mass of military impedimenta. It was equally obvious that victorious Russian soldiers had ransacked the place. There was nothing much of any intrinsic value left, no full liquor bottles, no usable weapons, no blankets or

Below left: Close up of the tower and blockhouse to the emergency stairway and right the stairwell opening pictured by Tom Posch in April 1988.





Meanwhile the New Reichskanzlei was slowly being dismantled to salvage useful building materials. In this interesting shot taken by Herr M. Hürlimann in 1948 workmen are removing the red marble floor in the Marmorgalerie — the stone being used to clad the Soviet War Memorial.

articles of clothing, no dress-daggers, radios or cameras. Everywhere the floors, corridors, and duckboards were littered with glass shards, bottles, rusty picture frames, German Army cheesecake photos, warped gramophone records, scattered sheet-music, dented air-raid-warden helmets, empty first-aid kits, bloodied bandages, old knapsacks, tin cans, ammunition, drums, empty pistol clips, scattered playing cards, film magazines, cigar and cigarette butts, slimy condoms. . . .

I lingered some forty-five minutes, despite my fear of rats, and then came up out of the Bunker. I counted forty-four steep steps up the four flights. With fresh air in my lungs, back in the sunshine, I began to collect my addled thoughts. Suddenly, Grosslinz! I recalled that Linz was the county seat of Braunau, Adolf Hitler's birthplace. Cursing my own slow reaction, I raced back down the steps. It was too late. A British colonel had found and was rolling up the map of Grosslinz: 'My only war souvenir,' he said. 'It won't look half bad over my fireplace in Kent.' "

Survivors of the Reich Chancellery group who had been captured by the Russians in May 1945 included ex-SS-Brigadeführers Wilhelm Mohnke and Johann Rattenhuber, Hans Baur, Otto Günsche, Peter Högl, Heinz Linge, Johannes Hentschel, the bunker's maintenance engineer, and Rochus Misch, the switchboard operator. Having been interrogated for several months on the last events in the Bunker, in the summer of 1946 they were taken from their prison camps in the Soviet Union and flown back to Berlin. They were taken to the overgrown Chancellery garden and, late one evening when the area had been cleared, ordered to re-enact their parts before Russian cameramen.

By the beginning of 1947 repeated Soviet vetos had reduced the Allied Control Council in Berlin to impotence, with rising tension between East and West. Freedom to move at will across the sectors was made more difficult and it was in December 1947 that Soviet engineers began to destroy the Führerbunker with explosives.

In 1959 work began to demolish what remained of the Chancellery itself, the area once cleared being landscaped into a small park. Some of the remaining rubble was bulldozed into a large mound and covered with spoil, this thereafter marking the site of the Führerbunker.

In August 1961 the sector border between the Soviet zone and the western part of Berlin was sealed, at first with barbed wire bar-

ricades but increasingly with the erection of a permanent wall, built some 10 yards or so inside the Soviet zone to permit maintenance of the western side, with a second fence at a varying distance to the rear. In the Chancellery area the wall did not follow the precise borough boundary but ran straight up the western side of the Hermann Göring-strasse from the Potsdamer Platz leaving a triangle of the Soviet sector at the end of the Voss-strasse within the British zone — the so-called 'Lenne triangle'. Recent negotiations by the Senat of West Berlin and the authorities of the German Democratic Republic, under the authority of the Four Powers, concluded an agreement which came into force on July 1, 1988 to cede this land to the West in exchange for other pieces of territory to rationalise the sector boundaries. West Berlin now plan to build a relief road across the triangle from the Brandenburger Tor to the Potsdamer Platz.

Having lain idle for twenty years since the site was cleared, the East German VEB Projekterung agency drew up plans for redevelopment of the eastern part of the Chancellery site to provide accommodation for 3,000 East Berliners in 1,000 flats, to be completed in 1991. Early in 1988 work began to uncover the Führerbunker for the first time in preparation for its final demolition. As this was an



Out in the garden the scene had hardly changed for ten years when in 1959 a second series of demolitions began to bring down the remains of the Chancellery itself. This particular explosion was photographed on June 18. (Associated Press)



Fifteen years later, pictured by Leif Jansson, the garden is an overgrown wilderness. The view is from the opposite direction towards the Voss-strasse on which a lone building remains standing on the southern side.

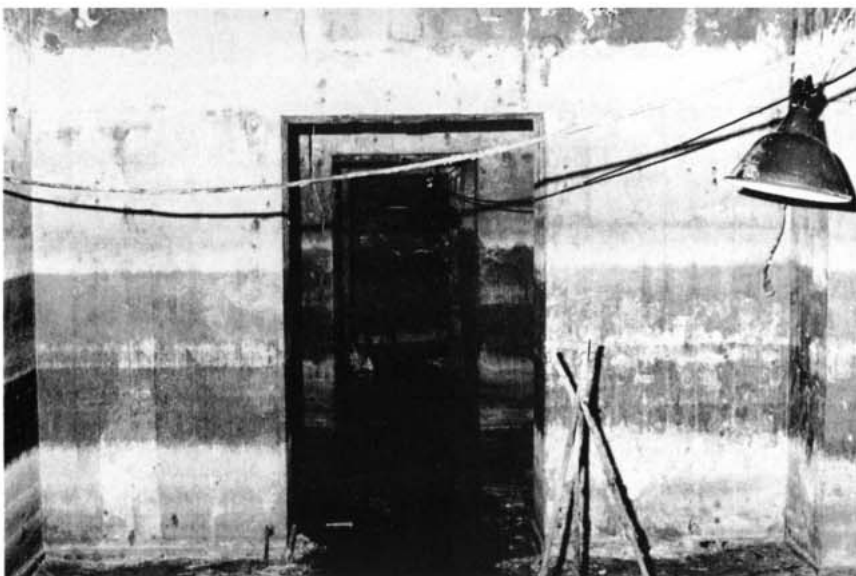


Sealed up for forty years, redevelopment of the eastern part of the site led in 1988 to the unique opportunity to visit the bunker and take photographs inside. *Left:* This is the northern side of the Vorbunker. *Above:* The Führerbunker, south face.

historic event of no little importance, coming exactly 50 years after the New Chancellery was begun, we were delighted to receive permission to visit the site, and, exceptionally, enter the bunker and take photographs of what remained. Tom Posch describes his first visit:

'On April 7 I was able to inspect the building site where three months' of continuous working had been necessary to remove sixteen layers of reinforced concrete. A building engineer showed me round the huge trenches and excavations where once the cellars of the old Reichskanzlei were located to the spot where the massive bulk of Hitler's bunker lay exposed. All of a sudden we were standing in a trench six metres below street level at the entrance to the bunker which formerly led from the New Reichskanzlei. As the engineer removed a fence he told me that the bunker had been full of water and four days and nights of continuous pumping had been necessary to reduce the level sufficiently to get inside. Even now with the pumps turned off the water was rising again but after they

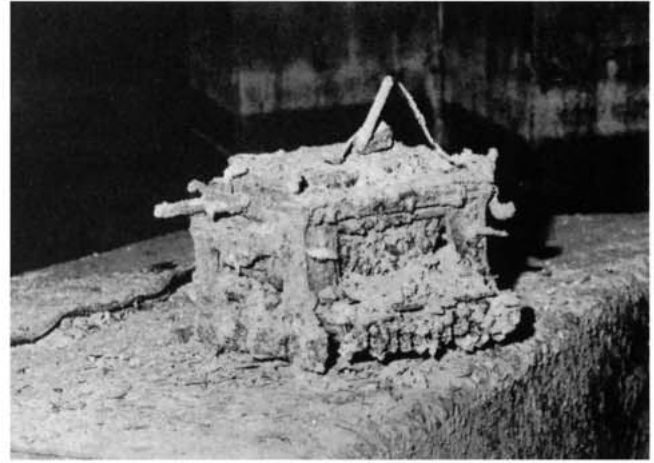
The only possible way in was via the old passageway which originally led below ground from the Chancellery to the Vorbunker. (See also page 30.)



Tom Posch found the layout somewhat different to that depicted on the plan on page 30. This is the central corridor.



Having been under water for years, the floor was a messy mire of sludge.



As if still awaiting its typist, this well-encrusted machine still sat on an overturned cupboard.

had been on for ten minutes the level had reduced sufficiently for us to enter.

'Rubble and earth had fallen into the entrance so we had to slide down into the side corridor. Here some heavily-rusted filters — for drinking water or sanitary purposes — were visible. Fortunately the building company had strung up some lamps from the rather low ceiling. To the left was the entrance to the so-called Vorbunker. Contrary to the drawings which have appeared in numerous books on the Berlin bunker there are four instead of three compartments, each about five metres square and no corridor but doors in a straight line in each room.

'In the second room from the entrance on the left, a rusting Olympia typewriter still stood on an overturned cupboard while all about the floor lay empty bottles from the wine stores and kitchen. Here I found a steel helmet, heavily rusted — a nice memento for the After the Battle collection in London.

'The double bunks in the room where the Goebbles children slept — and were murdered — are still there, although much rusted. On the floor I found fragments from a cookery book, intriguingly giving the recipe for Roosevelt Salad! In another room beside a pile of rubble a desk drawer and another typewriter.



Children's bunk beds in the Vorbunker . . . there can only be one explanation.



The Vorbunker was the location of the bunker kitchen and canteen. It is not difficult to guess who the occupant was with a penchant for salads . . . especially Salat Eva.



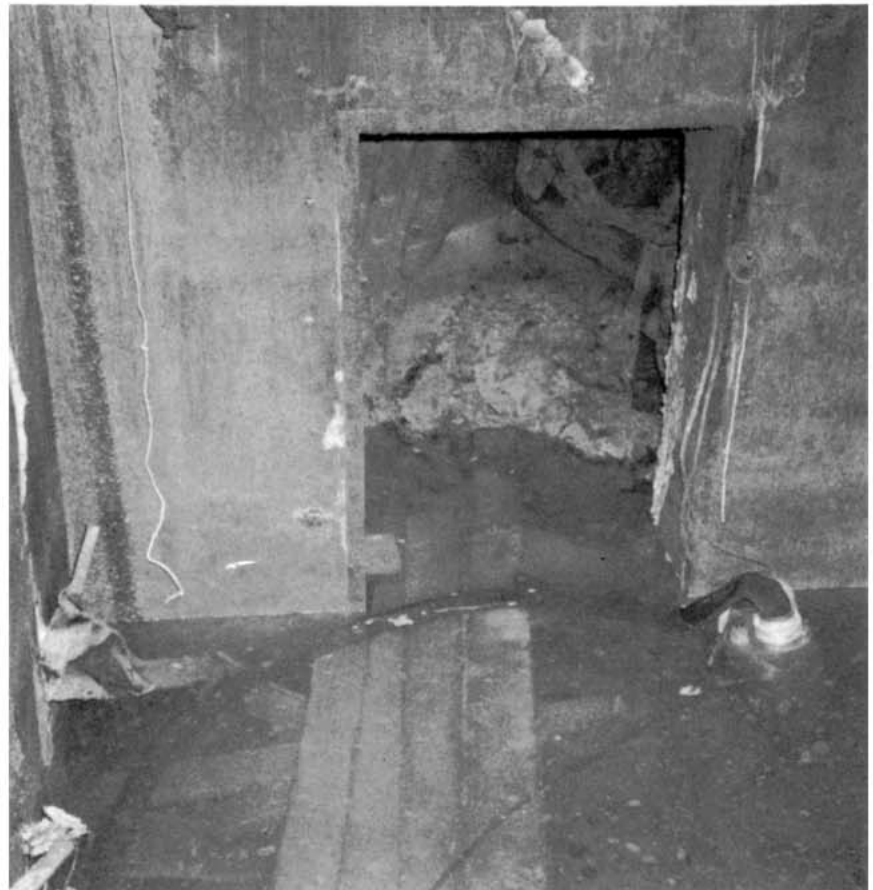
At the end of the line of rooms, on the right hand side a stairway led down to the Führerbunker itself. In the stairwell an empty bottle was floating . . . it was all very much like exploring the bowels of a sunken ship. Here however we could go no further at that time as we had reached the level of the water and the lower part was still submerged. I would have to return another day to continue my exploration.'

After Tom's first visit we waited anxiously for the second half of April by which time it was expected that the Führerbunker would have been pumped out and a return visit was arranged for the 26th. However in the meantime word of the excavation of the bunker complex had reached the Press, and the East German authorities became most unhappy at the amount of interest that was being shown in Hitler's former Berlin command post. We had several calls from readers checking to see if we knew about the construction work taking place and Michael Davis in particular sent photographs of his visit to the site on Sunday, April 10.

The East German authorities quickly reacted to the mounting pressure from the media and stopped all TV coverage, followed a few days later by a total ban on any further Press visits. Very fortunately our pre-planned trip was able to go ahead and at the end of April Tom Posch once again found himself at the bunker entrance. However after descending the stairway between the Vorbunker and Führerbunker Tom found that the demolitions in 1947 had brought down part of the roof making any further progress impossible. It had also proved difficult to lower the water level and as soon as the East Berlin Fire Department turned off their pumps the level started to rise again.

The bunker was heavily looted in 1945 and there would be little left in the place where Hitler ended it all. Now the roof has been collapsed and work is nearly finished to fill the interior with rubble and sand so that what little does remain will be sealed up for ever.

And so down the stairs to the Führerbunker. Again, contrary to the accepted plan, the stairs are not spiral in the normal sense of the word, but sets of concrete steps set at right angles. This stairway was cluttered with rubbish and on reaching the lower part which was still under water (*below*), it could be seen that the ceiling beyond the doorway into the former lounge had been brought down by the 1947 demolitions.





Work underway in July 1988 on the erection of the 'Chancellery Gardens' housing estate. Reference to the picture on the back cover will show how the inner wall has been moved further to

the west to provide more area. The model shows the project as finally envisaged with one block standing on the final part of the old Wilhelmplatz.

